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AND
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EDWARD J. GIBBS, M.A.

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EDW. J. GIBBS, M.A.

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1889

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DEDICATED
BY PERMISSION
TO
ALEX. JAS. MACDONALD, ESQ.

LONDON: *August* 16, 1889.

DEAR MR. MACDONALD,

I have to thank you for your permission to dedicate this book to you. Your knowledge of South Africa, and your long residence in and travels through the Cape Colony and Natal, have enabled you to provide me with many hints and criticisms. I do not pretend to have written from materials collected by my own travel and observation. All that I have attempted is to give a general history of the main features of our policy and conduct, especially since the abolition of slavery and the 'trekking' of the Boers. But I believe that this résumé will be found useful. Events pass so rapidly that even those of ten years ago are forgotten by the ordinary reader, or only recollected in a hazy sort of way. For this reason, and because of the importance of the subject, you thought that a new compendium, which should take a general review, would be desirable. There can be no doubt but that the general interest in South Africa is due to the gold discoveries, as was the case in Australia and California. But I do not regard the gold-mining industry as the greatest or the most useful.

I remain, dear Mr. Macdonald,

Yours faithfully,

EDWARD J. GIBBS.

ALEX. JAS. MACDONALD, ESQ.

PREFACE

IN the following pages I have endeavoured to give an impartial account of the progress of Great Britain in South Africa. Unhappily it is impossible to be impartial without being severe. Men of English descent have indeed raised the Cape Colony and Natal from very small beginnings to prosperity and yearly increasing success. This has been done in the face of many and severe trials. On the one hand, we had to contend with the Boers, a population of European origin and language, who were then many times more numerous than our own colonists, sullen in temper, sore with defeat, and above all fanatically attached to the heaven-appointed institution of slavery. On the other hand was a vast native population, for the most part brave, vigorous and determined, eager to preserve their lands from spoliation and themselves from enforced labour, but withal treacherous and bloodthirsty. It speaks well for the vigour of the English race that we should, so far, not only have held our own but have advanced with rapid strides in material and moral prosperity. But the praise that is due to the British settler must be withheld from the British Government. We boast of our Colonial Empire. It is the out-come and the growth of individual effort and private association. For many years the British Government seems to have been doing all it could to hamper, to harass, and to alienate our colonies, and to have used one stereotyped reply to all complaints: 'You may go whenever you please.' The Romans of old boasted that it was their mission

parcere subjectis et debellare superbos. Our mission, under the guidance of the parochial economists called Ministers for the Colonies, has been to submit meekly to defeat, to throw all responsibility on the colonists themselves, to refuse protectorates, and abandon conquests. It was not the British Government that conquered India, or annexed the vast territories in the North-West of America. And in the same way it will appear that our treatment of the Cape Colony and South Africa has been so mean, so niggardly, and so unwise as to have created a strong party which seems to be watching for some more congenial alliance. In a hundred years Gaul was conquered by the Romans, and completely Latinised. In a hundred years at the Cape we have not advanced one step beyond two opposing languages, nationalities and policies. What is worse, many of our own people openly side with the Dutch, and pursue an anti-English policy. The Cape Government of to-day is dominated by the Boer faction. But though we rule almost in spite of ourselves, though we carry the principle of *laissez faire* to the most absurd extremes, though our connection with the colonies is personal and commercial rather than national, yet perhaps even a British Government may recognise the fact of pecuniary loss as well as the loss of power and influence. In the following pages I have described too briefly and with too little indignation the surrender made to the Boers of the Transvaal. But I have not shown sufficiently the baneful effects of this cowardly policy. In 1881, after the battle of Majuba Hill, Mr. Gladstone shielded his surrender under the plea of an aversion to blood-shed. It is more probable that his chief thought was for his budget, and his fixed resolve to sacrifice any part of the Empire rather than ask money for its defence. In 1884 there was even less excuse, and the treaty with the rebel Boers appears to have been merely the result of a wish to get rid of as much of our Colonial Empire as could possibly be alienated at once. Even Lord Derby, who was by no means a successful Minister for the Colonies, declared

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And what is it that we have endeavoured to throw away? Probably the richest tract of land in the whole world. The British public, including the residents in Cape Colony and Natal, as well as the shareholders in London, have invested about twenty millions in the Transvaal, and the present market value of the gold shares is perhaps more nearly forty millions. The population is now, as always, divided into European and native. Ten years ago there were four Europeans of Dutch origin for one of English. Now there are more than three English for two Boers: Yet the English have no votes, no control over the finances, no share in the rapidly growing surplus of revenue. As the law stands at present all residents for more than five years have a right to vote, and if that law remains we shall as certainly see an English party in the Transvaal as we now see a Dutch party in the Cape. But the President suggests that a residence of fifteen years shall be necessary, and so hopes to secure his power for an indefinite term. In the Cape we give the disloyal Boers the same rights of voting as we give to men of British race. In the Transvaal we allow the rebel Boers to make laws for Englishmen who are the most numerous of the European residents, the owners of three-fourths of the property, the builders of the chief towns, the bankers and merchants, the capitalists who are willing to build railways and develop the resources of the country. And what do the Boers owe to us? Everything; their very existence, and all their prosperity.

When we interfered for their help, they were not only utterly bankrupt, but they were defeated beyond hope of recovery by the Basutos. We restored to them security, we brought in riches, we built their towns, we paid enormous prices for their land, we developed mines which, in their hands, might have remained untouched for centuries. In July 1886, the town Johannesburg did not exist; its public office was a small canvas tent, and its officials three government servants. In 1887, the Transvaal Government received from the local revenue alone 131,969*l.*, as the income from the digging community round the town. In December 1886, the customs dues at Johannesburg were 265*l.* In November 1887, they were 8,752*l.* They are immensely larger now. And although the attention of the British public is just now concentrated on the Witwatersrand, there is every reason to believe that the De Kaap district will also improve. Mr. Charles Cowen, in a short pamphlet, published at Johannesburg, says: 'The circumstances which have depressed Barberton—' and in using that name we indicate the industrial area of which 'Barberton may be considered the centre—we need not consider, 'for they arose less from any want of intrinsic worth in the mines 'than from events which were made to operate against their 'success for the time being.'

But I have intended that this book should refer less to financial prospects than to political considerations. It will, I think, be clear that the surrender of the Transvaal was a blunder of the worst kind, but for us the question is: 'How can that blunder be repaired?'

It is tolerably clear that, at the end of 1883, the Transvaal Government had arrived at the conclusion that Mr. Gladstone would complete his work by a grant of absolute independence. It was then proposed to place the country under a German or Dutch protectorate, to unite with the Dutch party in the Cape, to obtain possession of Bechuanaland and all the territory from Namaqualand on the West to Natal, and practically to drive the

British out of South Africa. Indeed, this was an open and frequent boast of the malcontents. But the deputation sent to Europe to secure these results was not entirely successful. The wealth of the Transvaal had become apparent. Mr. Gladstone was willing to grant a great measure of 'home rule' but not to withdraw altogether. Prince Bismarck was not inclined to embroil himself with England, and the United States and Holland, to which States, as well as to Russia, the Transvaal delegates were accredited, would have none of their schemes. Much as we surrendered it was less than had been expected.

The pressing question now is the return of the Transvaal and of the Orange Free State to the condition of British provinces, and the further development of South Africa by railways and settlements. The German schemes of rivalry are probably less cherished than they were. Prince Bismarck has discovered that his consuls and representatives abroad have behaved with great indiscretion. An attempt on Damaraland was brought to signal grief by the determined preference of the chief for the protection of England rather than of Germany. It needs now only a firm and determined policy on our side to secure the predominance in South Africa. May we hope that at length such a policy will be adopted? The first step is to insist that British inhabitants of the Transvaal shall have equal rights of voting and representation with the Boers. The next is to insist upon such concessions as will bring railways direct from Cape Town and Natal to Pretoria and Barberton. The third is to inaugurate a more vigorous and continuous policy in the countries not yet settled completely, in Swazieland, Bechuanaland, Damaraland. There is work enough here for Lord Knutsford, work of which the reward is likely to be greater than we have yet reaped from any of our colonies. With a settled government, all these countries would afford splendid fields for emigration, and it seems probable that nearly all are as rich in minerals as they are fertile for agriculture.

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The pressing question now is the future of the Orange Free State to the north-west of the Orange River, and the further development of home rule, and the progress of settlements. The German colonies of a large and powerful empire are cherished than they were. Prince Bismarck has appointed his consuls and representatives to the Orange River, and has shown indiscretion. An attempt to annex the Orange River has met with grief by the determination of the British Government of England rather than of Germany. The British Government has determined policy on the Orange River, and has determined policy on the Orange River. May we hope that the Orange River will be adopted? The first step is to secure the rights of the habitants of the Transvaal shall have equal rights of property and representation with the Boers. The next is to make equal such concessions as will bring railways direct from Cape Town and Natal to Pretoria and Barberton. The third is to inaugurate a more vigorous and continuous policy in the country, not yet

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ENGLAND AND SOUTH AFRICA

CHAPTER I

SOUTH AFRICA

THE various questions connected with our possessions, influence, and prospects in South and Central Africa deserve a more complete investigation than has yet been given to them. We have to deal directly with a white population, in the Colonies, of more than two millions, and with a coloured population, in countries where our control is acknowledged, of, perhaps, ten millions. Indirectly we have to deal with a population nearly as large as that of British India, a population which is estimated at not less than two hundred millions. From this population the slave dealers have drawn for many years nearly all their supplies, and this matter alone evokes English interest and sympathy. Again, it is found that the African natives, brutal, bloodthirsty, and demoralised as they have been, are yet amenable to Christian teaching and example. The progress of Christianity is more steady and more rapid in South Africa than in India, and would be still more marked but for the fact that some European Powers represent our religion under the form of adulterated spirits, slavery, and gunpowder. Add to these considerations the fact that gold, diamonds, copper, and other minerals are found in profusion, and that Germany, Portugal, and France are pressing forward claims wherever we have neglected to raise our flag, and it will be seen that the South African question deserves the most careful study and the consideration of our ablest statesmen.

I propose to consider some of the more important matters

connected with British rule in South Africa. I wish to examine its past history, present position, and future prospects. The past history is a melancholy record of imbecility, vacillation, cowardice, and parsimony. The present position will disclose difficulties and complications for which we have only ourselves to thank. The future will depend on our adopting, or declining to adopt, a dignified, persistent, and imperial policy. It will be seen that our treatment of South Africa is only an extreme example of our colonial policy in general. The people of this country are proud of our Colonies, and attached to them. They have sons and daughters, brothers and sisters struggling or thriving there. They do not think chiefly of trade, but look upon the Colonies as a fortunate extension of the narrow limits of these islands. But in our policy as a Government a different spirit may be discovered. It is impossible to read the history of the present century without coming to the conclusion that most of our Administrations, and especially those which professed Liberal principles, have regarded the Colonies without favour. The example of the settlements in North America taught us that it was impolitic to ask for any contribution to the imperial revenue. From this fact men jumped to the further conclusion that colonies were of comparatively little value. Thus the 'Encyclopædia Britannica' says in its article on colonies, 'Many indeed argue that for both sides it would be better that the inter-dependent relation should be totally sundered, and each colony, as soon as possible, left to shift for itself. The trade of neither party, it is alleged, gains anything by the maintenance of the connection; the European State is exposed to needless risk in time of war by her responsibility to her scattered dependencies, and to additional expense in providing against that risk; while the colonies are liable to be dragged into wars with which they have no concern.' The writer of the article does not attempt to meet these arguments, and by his silence approves of them. The 'National Encyclopædia' writes as follows: 'Setting aside the interests of those concerned in the administration of the Colonies, it is asked what advantage does the rest of the nation receive? So far as some colonies may

‘ be desirable ports for protecting British commerce and shipping, the advantage of maintaining them may be fully equal to the expense. But, in every particular instance, the real question as to the value of a colony to the mother country is simply this : What advantage is this said colony to the productive classes of the country ? A question not always easy to answer. But this is the question the solution of which must decide whether a colony should be maintained or not, if we look only to the interests of the mother country. If some advantage cannot be shown, the maintenance of a useless colony is a pure act of national benevolence to that colony, and to those few of the mother country who have places or property in it.’ This is the sort of political teaching to which our fathers were exposed. It was held that the value of a colony could only be expressed in money, and that since we levy no tribute we derive no gain. The pestilent heresy was loudly proclaimed that our trade would be just as large and as profitable if our colonies became independent, or were even absorbed by Foreign Powers. It has therefore happened that, while *the people* of Great Britain have become, year by year, more attached to the Colonies, the Governments of Great Britain have rather aimed at repudiation of control and responsibility.

I have thought it worth while to introduce these general remarks because they will be found to have a particular application. But I will leave generalities and confine myself to South Africa. Fifty years ago, nay, even thirty-five years ago, it was in our power to have assumed the protectorate of South Africa from the Cape of Good Hope to Zanzibar, and from Madagascar to Loango. Our mere proclamation would have preserved us from interference, for it is a settled principle of the international law of Europe, that what one European government has once claimed in uncivilised countries shall be left to that government until the claim is renounced. Besides this, we must remember that thirty or forty years ago Germany and France had little ambition for colonial empire. France, indeed, had quite enough to do with Algeria, and neither country had yet cast covetous eyes on South Africa.

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ENGLAND AND SOUTH AFRICA

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THE various questions connected with our possessions, influence, and prospects in South and Central Africa deserve a more complete investigation than has yet been given to them. We have to deal directly with a white population, in the Colonies, of more than two millions, and with a coloured population, in countries where our control is acknowledged, of, perhaps, ten millions. Indirectly we have to deal with a population nearly as large as that of British India, a population which is estimated at not less than two hundred millions. From this population the slave dealers have drawn for many years nearly all their supplies, and this matter alone evokes English interest and sympathy. Again, it is found that the African natives, brutal, bloodthirsty, and demoralised as they have been, are yet amenable to Christian teaching and example. The progress of Christianity is more steady and more rapid in South Africa than in India, and would be still more marked but for the fact that some European Powers represent our religion under the form of adulterated spirits, slavery, and gunpowder. Add to these considerations the fact that gold, diamonds, copper, and other minerals are found in profusion, and that Germany, Portugal, and France are pressing forward claims wherever we have neglected to raise our flag, and it will be seen that the South African question deserves the most careful study and the consideration of our ablest statesmen.

I propose to consider some of the more important matters

connected with British rule in South Africa. I wish to examine its past history, present position, and future prospects. The past history is a melancholy record of imbecility, vacillation, cowardice, and parsimony. The present position will disclose difficulties and complications for which we have only ourselves to thank. The future will depend on our adopting, or declining to adopt, a dignified, persistent, and imperial policy. It will be seen that our treatment of South Africa is only an extreme example of our colonial policy in general. The people of this country are proud of our Colonies, and attached to them. They have sons and daughters, brothers and sisters struggling or thriving there. They do not think chiefly of trade, but look upon the Colonies as a fortunate extension of the narrow limits of these islands. But in our policy as a Government a different spirit may be discovered. It is impossible to read the history of the present century without coming to the conclusion that most of our Administrations, and especially those which professed Liberal principles, have regarded the Colonies without favour. The example of the settlements in North America taught us that it was impolitic to ask for any contribution to the imperial revenue. From this fact men jumped to the further conclusion that colonies were of comparatively little value. Thus the 'Encyclopædia Britannica' says in its article on colonies, 'Many indeed argue that for both sides it would be better that the inter-dependent relation should be totally sundered, and each colony, as soon as possible, left to shift for itself. The trade of neither party, it is alleged, gains anything by the maintenance of the connection; the European State is exposed to needless risk in time of war by her responsibility to her scattered dependencies, and to additional expense in providing against that risk; while the colonies are liable to be dragged into wars with which they have no concern.' The writer of the article does not attempt to meet these arguments, and by his silence approves of them. The 'National Encyclopædia' writes as follows: 'Setting aside the interests of those concerned in the administration of the Colonies, it is asked what advantage does the rest of the nation receive? So far as some colonies may

' be desirable ports for protecting British commerce and shipping, ' the advantage of maintaining them may be fully equal to the ' expense. But, in every particular instance, the real question ' as to the value of a colony to the mother country is simply this : ' What advantage is this said colony to the productive classes of ' the country ? A question not always easy to answer. But this ' is the question the solution of which must decide whether a ' colony should be maintained or not, if we look only to the ' interests of the mother country. If some advantage cannot be ' shown, the maintenance of a useless colony is a pure act of ' national benevolence to that colony, and to those few of the ' mother country who have places or property in it.' This is the sort of political teaching to which our fathers were exposed. It was held that the value of a colony could only be expressed in money, and that since we levy no tribute we derive no gain. The pestilent heresy was loudly proclaimed that our trade would be just as large and as profitable if our colonies became independent, or were even absorbed by Foreign Powers. It has therefore happened that, while *the people* of Great Britain have become, year by year, more attached to the Colonies, the Governments of Great Britain have rather aimed at repudiation of control and responsibility.

I have thought it worth while to introduce these general remarks because they will be found to have a particular application. But I will leave generalities and confine myself to South Africa. Fifty years ago, nay, even thirty-five years ago, it was in our power to have assumed the protectorate of South Africa from the Cape of Good Hope to Zanzibar, and from Madagascar to Loango. Our mere proclamation would have preserved us from interference, for it is a settled principle of the international law of Europe, that what one European government has once claimed in uncivilised countries shall be left to that government until the claim is renounced. Besides this, we must remember that thirty or forty years ago Germany and France had little ambition for colonial empire. France, indeed, had quite enough to do with Algeria, and neither country had yet cast covetous eyes on South Africa.

We first entered the Cape of Good Hope in 1793 as a possession obtained by conquest. The people had been cruelly treated by the Dutch East India Company, and their trade subjected to grievous monopolies and restrictions. These monopolies and restrictions we at once swept away. To the conquered Dutch we conceded the full and free use of their laws, customs, and language, and we undertook that no new taxes should be imposed. And on behalf of this country we may boldly say this, that whatever faults of indecision or caprice we may have committed, we have usually treated the conquered with indulgence, and, since the abolition of slavery, the natives with kindness. By the Treaty of Amiens the Cape Colony was restored to the Dutch in 1803, but, when war broke out again in 1806, it was re-taken by Great Britain, under whose rule it has since remained.

We have been so much dazzled of late years by the discoveries of gold, diamonds, and copper, that we are apt to forget that the great recommendation of the country to our predecessors was its agricultural resources. In 1817 the Governor, Lord Charles Somerset, visited the districts between the Sunday and the Fish Rivers, and wrote home as follows: 'Here is, indeed, a very fine country on which to employ and maintain a multitude of settlers. This tract, particularly healthy for cattle and sheep, well wooded and having many fine springs in it, is nearly uninhabited.' In 1819 a war was commenced by the Kaffirs, and on their defeat and retirement Lord Charles Somerset proposed a scheme of emigration. The British Government approved the scheme. Fifty thousand pounds were voted by the House of Commons, and in 1820 5,000 emigrants were sent out. So anxious were people to emigrate that, although each head of a household was required to deposit 10*l.* before starting, there were no fewer than 90,000 applicants.

In 1806 the population of the Cape Colony was about 74,000, of whom 27,000 were Europeans, 18,000 Hottentots, and 29,000 slaves. The present population is about one and a quarter millions. In 1833 slavery was finally abolished, much to the disgust of the Boers, who forthwith began to seek 'fresh

'fields and pastures new,' where their peculiar views as to the appropriation of the persons and lands of the natives might be more easily carried into practice. They colonised Natal and the Orange River Territories. In Natal they kept up a constant warfare with the Kaffirs, whom they sought to reduce to slavery. Their career was checked by the Governor of the Cape, who took military possession of Natal in 1843, and in 1856 it was declared a separate colony. For the same reasons the Orange River Territory was occupied by the Boers, and (for the same reason) taken by the British. It was declared a colony in 1848, and of course the Boers were again enraged by the prohibition of slavery. If the same policy had been continuously followed by the British Government the Boers might have 'trekked' to the Equator; and, so far as Great Britain followed them, slavery would have ceased, and the seizure of native lands and cattle would have been prohibited.

This brings us to the year 1853, with which the modern history of South Africa may be said to have commenced. In the beginning of that year the British authority had been proclaimed wherever the white man had penetrated, and a protectorate might have been declared over the whole of South Africa without let or hindrance from any European Power. Such a declaration would have been held valid, even although many years should elapse before our actual occupation. But *Dis aliter visum*. In 1853 the ministry of Lord Aberdeen came into power, with Mr. Gladstone as Chancellor of the Exchequer. It was called a coalition ministry, not because it included the Tories, but because it united the Peelites and the Whigs. This ministry drifted into the Crimean War, and set the first example of contracting the limits of the Empire. We began with the Orange River sovereignty. We informed the people of that territory that they would no longer be British subjects, but might form a free State for themselves. Our proposals were received with alarm, almost with despair. A powerful tribe, the Basutos, threatened the very existence of the State. The Boers knew that their injustice, robbery, and cruelty had made them hateful to the native tribes, and they were terrified at the

thought that our protection would be withdrawn. The people of Grahamstown met and adopted the following petition to the Queen : ' That your petitioners have read with equal sorrow and ' dismay the dispatch addressed by your Majesty's Right Honour- ' able Secretary of State, in which an intention is expressed on ' the part of your Majesty's Government to withdraw the autho- ' rity hitherto exercised over the Orange River sovereignty. ' They humbly submit that they cannot legally be shut out from ' the pale of the realm, nor can the allegiance they owe to your ' Majesty be set aside on the plea of expediency, and in the face ' of their deliberately recorded dissent.' To this appeal Lord Aberdeen's ministry gave no heed. A sum of 5,000*l.* was given to the new Republic to start with, instead of the 20,000*l.* they asked for, and the country was cast adrift. It was probably thought that our continued rule might involve us in expenses and interfere with Mr. Gladstone's popular budget. The irony of events is very marked. The very next year, early in 1854, gold and diamonds were discovered in this very State, and copper was said to be procurable from the surface, and in waggon-loads. It will be strange to find, said a Cape newspaper, that ' the country which has so lately been discarded as ' worthless may yet prove to be richer than any other appendage ' of her Majesty's possessions.'

In 1856 Sir George Grey, who was then Governor at the Cape, advised the local parliament to provide 200,000*l.* for the purpose of emigration. He said : ' With a very large practical ' acquaintance with the Continent of Australia, I can now, after ' having visited so great a portion of South Africa, unhesitatingly ' state that this country affords at least equal advantages to ' European immigrants. In some respects, indeed, the Cape of ' Good Hope holds out greater advantages than any other colony. ' Its rewards for labour are equal, and its social and moral posi- ' tion superior.' The sum proposed was voted by the Cape Parliament by a majority of twenty-two to fourteen, and was ordered to be issued in sums of 50,000*l.*, and we find that in March 1862 the thirty-second free emigration ship left London at the colonial expense, under this Act of 1857, the operation

of which added nearly ten thousand souls to the population of the colony.

The fears entertained by the Orange Free State when its dependence on Great Britain was repudiated were very natural, and were proved to have some foundation in fact. The Boers of that State attacked the Basutos in 1858 and were defeated. In their distress they applied to Sir George Grey, who was then Governor of the Cape Colony, to mediate for them. Sir George Grey, having obtained the consent of the Cape Parliament, went to arrange a peace. It was generally believed in Cape Town that the Free State would be utterly ruined, and that the Kaffirs would accept no terms except the extinction of the Boers. At the same time we are told that 'the Kaffirs have a wholesome dread of the British power, and have been observed in this struggle to respect British property, and to carefully abstain from giving offence to the British Government.' The following note was forwarded to England and printed by 'The Times' on September 24, 1858: 'It is now confessed both by those who are favourable to the British Government and those who are adverse, that the only hope for the future safety, nay, for the very existence, of the Free State, consists in its re-union with the parent colony. It is felt and acknowledged that *the systematic want of good faith practised towards the natives* has produced this melancholy state of things, and that the prestige of British rule, which still conveys to the native mind the idea of good faith, can alone restore confidence and prosperity.' When Sir George Grey returned and opened the Cape Parliament, on March 17, 1859, he congratulated the colony on the proceedings of the first parliament, at whose request he had mediated between the Orange Free State and the Basuto chief, Moshesh. He enjoyed the confidence of both parties, and had succeeded in negotiating peace on a permanent basis.

Alarmed by this difficulty, the Orange Free State solicited a Federal union with the Cape. Sir George Grey took up the idea and carried it further. He proposed a union of all the states, Colonial, Free, and Native, under the British Crown. The proposal was received with enthusiasm. Dispatches were

received from Downing Street, which appeared to regard the scheme with favour. In his opening speech in the Cape Parliament the Governor dwelt upon the subject in the most emphatic manner. Eleven days afterwards, in August 1859, dispatches were received from Lord Derby completely and authoritatively disallowing the policy to which Sir George Grey had been committed, and ordering his immediate resignation and return. This treatment of the South African question is worthy of notice. When the Boers and the English residents were equally in favour of confederation the British Government abruptly put a stop to the scheme. This was in 1859. Nine years later the British Government, as represented by the Colonial Secretary, Lord Carnarvon, earnestly recommended confederation and found that it was too late.

In 1865 the Orange Free State decreed that after January 1, 1866, no foreign bank or branch thereof should be permitted to exist in the State. This order was directed against the London banks which had branches in the Cape. In the same year war was declared against the Free State by the Basutos under their chief Moshesh who declared that he did not wish to make war against England. 'He did not wish to fight with the Queen or any of her Majesty's subjects, but only to protect his people from the aggression of the Free State Government.' A treaty of peace was made in June 1866, but the next year, 1867, war broke out again. A Cape newspaper reports that 'Some of the burghers admit that the Basutos have not enough space to live in. They think it a great mistake to occupy land beyond Caledon, this greed of land having been, in their opinion, a fruitful source of colonial war.' With the Basutos the Orange Free State was perpetually at war. But in 1868 the Basutos were taken under British protection, and declared British subjects. The Volksraad of the Free State decided to oppose Sir Philip Wodehouse's proclamation, and sent a deputation to England to protest against it, giving authority to the deputation to solicit help against England, from Russia, America, Spain, Holland, or any other country. But for once our Government stood firm, and Basutoland became British. The happy hunting-

ground for slaves was closed to the Boers, and the perpetual war ceased. In 1871 the British Government insisted upon the Basutos being annexed either by Natal or the Cape Colony. The first offer was made to the Cape Colony by the Governor, Sir Philip Wodehouse, and on May 3 an Act was passed for incorporating the territory. But as the natives were not fit to be intrusted with a vote it was enacted (1) That the people shall remain under the rules now in force; (2) that all legislative power shall be in the hands of the Governor; (3) that the Colonial Courts shall have jurisdiction.

The last effort of the Orange Free State to assert itself beyond its present boundaries was a futile attempt to claim the diamond fields. Its Government proposed to submit its claims to local arbitrators, with the King of Holland or the President of the United States as umpire. This offer was very properly declined by Sir H. Barkly, and the diamond fields of Kimberley and Beaconsfield remain in our hands. There are, however, diamonds in the Free State which yielded about 188,000*l.* last year. In 1869 when the differences between Great Britain, the Orange Free State and the Basutos were settled, the Governor of the Cape, Sir Philip Wodehouse, made the following remarks: 'It was natural that, while engaged in these negotiations, I should keep in view the proposition that has been canvassed both here and in England for the restoration of the British sovereignty in the Free State. We have always maintained that it would be most unwise to promote such a measure except in deference to the clear will of a decided majority of the people.' This question of the Free State is, in a legal sense, the most difficult of all the South African difficulties. We made over the territory without reserve, and against the earnest protests of the people. To resume it will be difficult, yet in view of the need for an undivided empire of South Africa that resumption should be always kept before us as a necessity. The land-locked position of the country is in our favour, unless we should be foolish enough to foster a union with the Transvaal and open up through Delagoa Bay an inlet for German and Portuguese intrusion. Already in 1884 we seem to have been preparing this last trouble for

ourselves by providing that the Government of the Transvaal might make treaties with the Free State without requiring the sanction of her Majesty, and we now learn that an alliance between the two Republics has been established. Our surrender in 1853 was a piece of needless folly, founded on the pernicious belief that colonies are not a treasure but a burden. It only needed parochial politicians to dismember the empire: it will need a statesman to restore it.

Let us come next to the Transvaal. I have selected the Orange Free State and the Transvaal for the first part of my subject, simply because these two countries present the greatest difficulty in the way of a united South Africa under imperial control. The story of the Transvaal is more brief but more disastrous and disgraceful than that of the Orange Free State. If the country did not remember Gordon and Khartoum, everyone would have said that no English politician could have been guilty of such weakness as was displayed by Mr. Gladstone in 1881. But we have long since ceased to feel surprise at his decisions, or what he would, perhaps, call his policy.

Till 1875, the Boers who had settled in the Transvaal received little notice from Great Britain. They were excessively disliked by the natives, both in the Transvaal itself and on all its borders. They were accused of kidnapping slaves, of murderous outrages, of robberies of land. They were constantly at war, and were reduced, as a Government, to complete bankruptcy. Gold had been reported to exist in 1866, but its working on a large scale had not commenced. In 1875 Lord Carnarvon was Secretary for the Colonies, and he came to the same conclusion as that reached by Sir George Grey in 1859. In a dispatch to Sir H. Barkly dated in June 1875, Lord Carnarvon pointed out 'the serious disadvantages, whether in regard to security from disorder or to material progress, under which the several colonies and states were placed through the absence of any defined and consistent policy governing questions of vital interest to all.' He showed that 'recent occurrences in Natal had brought the question of the condition and treatment of the natives into the foremost rank of those questions which

‘ especially demand uniformity of treatment,’ that ‘ as long as the
‘ natives, who are shrewd observers, see diversity of counsels and
‘ even estrangement between the various colonies and states they
‘ would continue restless, and would be ready to listen to sugges-
‘ tions as to their power of combining successfully against the dis-
‘ united European Governments,’ and that the result was ‘ a
‘ distinct danger of widely extended disaffection, which, if circum-
‘ stances lent themselves to it, it would be difficult to subdue.’

For these and similar reasons, his lordship wished representatives to be sent to a conference in London. The scheme was that of a patriotic statesman, but it came too early or too late. The Cape Colony declined the proposal. Its Parliament sent the Premier, Mr. Molteno, and some other members to consult with the Secretary of State, but not to take part in the conference. Mr. Sprigg declared that he did not object to union in principle, but ‘ only at that time and under pressure from the
‘ Home Government.’ The Transvaal Volksraad ‘ objected to
‘ confederation under the British flag while there remain un-
‘ settled causes of well-grounded complaint.’ The Orange Free State ‘ did not object so much to British supremacy as to the
‘ fitful policy which has characterised the representatives of Great
‘ Britain.’

In effect, the conference was a failure. Some resolutions were passed ‘ as to the regulation of harbours, the action of the
‘ common police, the sale of spirituous liquors,’ and other minor topics. But as to confederation under the British Crown, Lord Carnarvon said that ‘ it was not for the British Government to
‘ precipitate such a movement, but he saw no reason against the
‘ idea that such a union might be practicable and desirable, and
‘ that it might be entered into with the hearty consent of all the
‘ parties concerned.’ He promised to bring in a sort of Permissive Bill, a kind of action from which no good ever did or ever will come in international and intertribal disputes. The troubles in the Transvaal rapidly supervened, and, before anything further in the way of federation could be attempted, the management of South African affairs had passed once more into the hands of Mr. Gladstone.

CHAPTER II

THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE

THE Cape Colony is, of course, the most important of our present possessions in South Africa. It has been held by Dutch and English for more than two hundred years. It has a history and a matured civilisation which cannot be claimed for Australia. That the Cape Colonists have very serious complaints to make against the Home Government 'goes without saying.' It is true of every colony we possess, and would have been equally true of India if the government of that country had been left to the Colonial Office. The Colonial Office has almost invariably reduced every question to one of money. Colonies might remain with us if they never required any help. If they did, their independence would be preferred. Let us take the following note from Lord Granville, as Colonial Secretary, to Sir Philip Wodehouse, Governor of the Cape Colony. It is dated April 7, 1870, and in substance is as follows:—

'Sir,—I have to acknowledge receipt of your despatch, 'No. 17, of February 3, enclosing a memorial from persons 'residing in the eastern province of the Cape of Good Hope, 'who are desirous that military protection may be continued to 'them at the expense of this country. I observe that the memorialists estimate the white population at 200,000, and the cost 'of defence, including police, at 100,000*l.*, which, if the whole 'were paid by persons of European origin, would only amount 'to 10*s.* per head, and they declare this sum to be a strain on the 'finances of the colony greater than it can bear.' Lord Granville goes on to say that military defence, without including police, costs the people of this country 15*s.* per head, and that

the colonists are far more able to pay the charges than we are. He adds, 'I have already informed you that the Home Government, far from being desirous of retaining its present control over the internal or external affairs of the Colony, is only desirous that the government, whether "responsible" or not, should be effective; and I may add that the memorialists' account of the present state of the native population, and the absence of any material native difficulties, sufficiently show that whatever objections may exist in an imperial point of view to the past policy of the British Government (including the acquisition of British Kaffraria), the Cape Colony has, at least, no right to complain of it.'

In 1871 Lord Kimberley was Secretary of State for the Colonies, and Sir Henry Barkly became Governor of the Cape. Lord Kimberley's first step was to require that the Basutos should be annexed either by the Cape or by Natal, and he intimated that he should prefer the annexation to Natal. Sir Henry Barkly advised the Cape Colony to accept the possession, and probably was but little informed as to the trouble the Basutos had caused for years, or as to their formidable strength. Lord Kimberley had his own way so far. On May 3, 1871, a short Bill was brought in to annex the Basutos, which was eventually carried.

In this way Lord Kimberley succeeded in removing from the cognizance and control of the Home Government the most troublesome and formidable tribe on the borders of the Cape. The colony had a hard time of it, and as we shall see finally voted its retrocession.

But Lord Kimberley had a few more hard words to say. He pointed out that her Majesty's Government consider that Parliamentary institutions in the Cape have, in their present form, proved a failure. They have lasted for seventeen years, and have been tried under the auspices of two very energetic administrations of different temperaments. The time has come when either the Crown must resume its functions, or Parliamentary institutions must be conducted to their legitimate results in the form of responsible government. The example

‘ of Canada should be followed, and a confederation formed ;
‘ but this should be a sequence, not an antecedent, of responsible
‘ government.’

It is to be observed that the Colonial Office draws a strong line of distinction between representative and responsible government in the Colonies. A representative government is practically a council, partly elected and partly nominated, whose duty it is to advise with the Governor, and prepare measures for his approval. But if he differs from the majority of the council, he is not necessarily to give way as to the advice to be offered to her Majesty. Nor is he required to order a dissolution and new election. A ‘ responsible ’ government in the nomenclature of the Colonial Office does not mean one responsible to the Crown or to its representative, but one responsible to the Houses of the Colonial Parliament ; and such a government, if defeated, is expected either to resign or dissolve. That expectation is even more regularly acted on in the Colonies than at home, for in England we have seen ministries continued in office for many months, although they could not command a majority. Be that as it may, the meaning of Lord Kimberley’s note is clear. He did not want to be bothered with Cape politics. He, therefore, required the Colonists either to become a Crown Colony, without any voice in their own affairs, which he knew they would no more desire than he did, or to undertake the full burden of representative and responsible government, under which the appeal from one party against another should be made by a new election to the colonists themselves.

It may be thought that this was in the highest tone of Liberal statesmanship. But everything depends on the character of the colony. The very name of ‘ responsible government ’ shows that new burdens are to be sustained as well as new privileges enjoyed. If a colony is not equal to the burden, it may be well to decline the privileges. The main reason, however, for making these quotations is to point out the cynical indifference, and almost dislike, with which colonial questions were treated. It is well known that these despatches from Lord Granville and Lord Kimberley gave great offence at the

Cape, and helped to produce that reciprocal indifference or dislike which has been shown for some years by the Afriander party. In 1872 the Act for the introduction of responsible government was passed, but only by a majority of one, and the circumstances I have to describe prevented its becoming a complete success, at all events for a time. At the best it affords no adequate solution of the general question of South Africa. Lord Carnarvon's rule at the Colonial Office was marked by a more genial spirit, a more suave manner, and a more imperial policy. But he tried in vain to secure a confederacy, and it is a very singular thing that a Conservative minister, Lord Derby, should in 1859 put an abrupt and angry stop to Sir George Grey's nearly completed and accepted scheme, and another Conservative, in 1875, should go vainly about the country imploring the acceptance, or, at the least, the consideration of a new scheme.

When Mr. Gladstone came into power in 1880 a new opportunity for cynical neglect of the Colonies was afforded to him. The rise and the results of the Boer rebellion in the Transvaal had very serious consequences in the Cape Colony. When the news of our defeat at Majuba Hill first reached the Cape no one supposed that Mr. Gladstone would accept it as final. But when his decision was announced and the colonists learned the terms of the convention, there was a great revulsion of feeling. The Boers of the Transvaal openly talked of driving the English out of South Africa. The Dutch inhabitants of the Colony and of Natal began to share the same hopes. Even the Afrianders of mixed descent became discontented with English rule, and many of purely English blood and even recent settlers were shaken in their allegiance. From this time the common division of parties in conversation, in the press, and even in the Cape Parliament, has been between the Dutch and the English; and colonial politicians of purely English race have trusted to the Dutch, and yielded to the Dutch, in order to keep themselves in power. In the Dutch interest the Stamp Act was passed which has fortunately failed to receive the Royal Assent. Strong hopes were expressed and were entertained that Germany would

espouse the Boer cause, and Prince Bismarck's annexations in East and West Africa seemed to give sanction to these hopes. But for our protection Swazieland would long since have been annexed by the Boers, and probably Amatonga also. Lord Salisbury has done very wisely, and not a day too soon, in proclaiming a British protectorate of Bechuanaland. It appears almost certain that the Boers have been calculating on ousting us from South Africa, and have been relying upon all the help that Prince Bismarck could give without openly declaring war.

Before I proceed I may give an answer to those amiable politicians who are always wanting to know why we should acquire and keep colonies, or annex the territories occupied by savages. I will speak only of South Africa. Our interest in the Cape Colony and Natal is: (1) That of sympathy with our own relations and their descendants; (2) that of trade; (3) the amount of caution imposed upon us by observing that colonies which become independent very frequently become hostile. So far as common descent, language, history, and religion are concerned, I need say very little, for those who think highly of these connecting links do not need to be convinced, and those who care nothing for such sentiments are beyond conviction. As to trade, it may be observed that our total commerce with the Cape and Natal (including diamonds) already amounts to fifteen millions sterling per annum, and may admit of indefinite expansion as the teeming populations of natives north of Cape Colony become amenable to civilisation, and escape, on the one hand, from the terror of being enslaved, and, on the other, from the temptation and degradation of becoming slave-hunters and slave-dealers. As regards the possibility of hostile relations with revolted or alienated colonies we have only to look at the United States. We may also, without hypocrisy, claim that we have a real regard for the interests of the natives. Even when we were giving up everything of our own to the Boers of the Transvaal, we claimed in 1881 a right to sanction or reject laws affecting the natives, although the claim was reduced in 1884 to a promise of fair treatment. And besides what we have done as a nation, we may point to a noble catalogue of names, among which

those of Moffat and Livingstone and Mackenzie are only the most exalted, which reminds us of continuous and self-denying efforts for the freedom and civilisation of native races.

Making these assumptions or preliminary notes, I proceed to consider: I. The position, dangers and prospects of the Cape Colony. This territory comprises 213,636 square miles, being nearly double the whole area of the United Kingdom. At present its population is about a million and a quarter, so that as far as space goes, there might easily be ten or twenty times as many. The country is of varied aspect and elevation, and the rainfall is less precarious than in Australia. Nevertheless, when droughts do occur, their consequences are disastrous. Till the discovery of diamonds the Colony subsisted chiefly on its sales of wool, and a very dry year plays sad havoc with the flocks and their fleeces. In 1866 we learn that 'January 12' was publicly and universally observed as a day of humiliation, 'owing to the continued and severe drought which had so long' 'prevailed throughout the land. The accounts that reached' 'Cape Town were most harrowing. Distress appeared to be' 'overtaking some of the north-eastern and eastern portions of the' 'Western province; while the Eastern province had experienced' 'its full measure of wretchedness, consequent on the entire' 'absence of rain.' And again in 1878 a letter from the Cape, dated February 5, says: 'Our troubles seem to accumulate.' 'Whilst war and rebellion prevail over the north-eastern frontier' 'districts, unprecedented drought is causing great loss of stock' 'in the midland pastoral districts.' These accounts seem gloomy enough, but it must be remembered that they are separated from the present date by an interval of eleven years, and at the very worst did not affect all portions of the country, while in Australia we have known a drought of three years' duration, spreading over nearly the whole continent, and causing the loss of millions of sheep. Still, it may be admitted that in the districts in which the rainfall is frequently deficient, money should be spent more freely on the storage and distribution of water. The most remarkable fact about irrigation mentioned in the Official Hand-book of 1886, is the small cost at which, in

many cases, water can be preserved. It is true that the Kimberley Water Works Company spent more than half a million in supplying the diamond fields from a distance of seventeen miles, but then Kimberley was an arid desert, which, but for the diamonds, could never have paid for verdure. But most of the works have been constructed at small cost. An artificial embankment in Calvinia forms a shallow lake about two square miles in area and five feet deep when full. 'The reservoir, shallow though it is, has proved of great service to the neighbourhood, thousands of animals having been kept alive that would otherwise have perished for want of water. But this is not all, for in 1879 eighty muids of wheat were sown on the village erven, from which a return of from sixty to one hundred-fold was obtained.' Yet the total cost was only 835*l*. At Stolskock, near Beaufort West, a reservoir has been made holding 96,000,000 gallons of water, the cost of the work being 8,700*l*. The most important irrigation work is Van Wyk's Vley. The extent of the water surface is nineteen square miles, and the average depth 10 feet. The country served by this lake would, in dry seasons, be absolutely barren without irrigation, although with irrigation, or in seasons of good natural moisture, the land is extremely fertile. Yet the total cost of this work, exclusive of land, has been less than 24,000*l*.

It is clear that the greater part of the country, although not always so well watered as England, could at small expense have plenty of water in store. Another thing is to be observed. Wheat will thrive with less regular rainfall than grass, but the Boers are usually too idle to grow wheat, and indeed for some years the food supply of the Colony was supplemented by imports from India and Australia. Yet the dreary, sodden summers, which so often destroy our English crops, are not known in South Africa; and, as we have seen, the very dry summers of the Cape may be made fruitful by a cheap but large system of irrigation, which would be even more remunerative for barley and wheat than for grass and wool. At the very least the Cape should grow sufficient grain for its own consumption. That it has not done so has been due to the indolence of its farmers.

There would still be plenty of wool, wine, diamonds, and gold for export.

Such being the case, it is natural that we should regard the possession of the country with satisfaction and pride, should jealously guard, and even seek to extend, its boundaries, and should use it as a field for emigration on a large scale. This would, no doubt, have been the feeling of the people of English descent if they had always understood the facts of the case and felt that they could rely on the friendly support of our own Government. But our difficulty lay in the character of the Dutch population which we had subdued. They were a race singularly obstinate, national, and prolific, and on the great question of the treatment of the native population they held views bitterly opposed to those of England. To this must be added our own shiftless and vacillating policy. We have never possessed the powers of absorption and assimilation which were the grandest characteristics of ancient Rome. In about the same number of years as we have held the Cape, Rome so governed the countries which are now France, Spain, and Portugal, that the population became completely Latinised. Scores of the wealthiest Roman senators were the sons and grandsons of chiefs who had been subdued. Latin literature was enriched by natives of Gaul and Spain, and one of the greatest emperors, Trajan, was by birth a Spaniard. If we had possessed the same faculties for empire, the Boers of South Africa would by this time have become completely English in language, manners, and policy. Failing in this supreme art of rule, we might still have expected that, by giving equal rights to the Dutch and English races, and ruling both with liberality and firmness, our subjects, or colonists, would have become equally loyal. Our main faults have not arisen from unjust dealing, but from a harsh and dictatorial manner and a penurious policy. On the main point of disagreement with the Boers—the abolition of slavery—we must ever insist that we were entirely in the right. It must also be always remembered that there are many thousands of the Dutch population in the Cape who are still heartily loyal, and who recognise

in Great Britain a truer and more kindly friend and protector than they could hope to find in Germany or Holland. But the fact remains that a majority of the Boers are not loyal, and are inclined, if they could find it safe, to sympathise with the Transvaal and to look for support to Germany. This party has the assistance of a number of politicians and electors of British descent, some from personal caprice and some from a desire to side with the majority. The result is that the House of Representatives is usually considered to contain a Dutch party and an English party, and the Dutch have always the majority at the polls. We have thus a situation something like what would occur in Ireland under a system of home rule under imperial control, and it is needless to say that it involves problems of considerable difficulty.

It must be remembered that no open declaration of treasonable intent has been made by the Dutch majority of the Cape Parliament. There have been no threats in Parliament of secession or rebellion. There has only been an under-current of disaffection, stimulated, if not caused, by the success of the Transvaal Boers, and by the doubt whether, after all, the supremacy in South Africa may not be acquired by Germany. There are no political concessions to be made. The final aim of our policy must be that, if possible, Boers and English alike shall heartily support the British rule, and that the population and the electorate shall show an English, and not a Dutch, majority.

One great preventive of political discontent is material prosperity, and of late years this has been abundant. We must not forget, however, that it is always precarious. For three or four years the low price of wool, and the reduction in the shearings owing to drought, produced great distress. Our exports to the Cape fell to less than half of what they had been. It is fortunate that now there are several industries to rely upon. The yield of diamonds, which is never mentioned in our Board of Trade returns, is more than four millions sterling per annum. The production of gold has reached about a million a year, and though very little has yet been found in the colony the profits of transit are not inconsiderable. For the decline of one in-

dustry Mr. Gladstone is largely responsible. Before 1860 the duty on foreign wines was 5*s.* 10*d.* per gallon, and on colonial wines 2*s.* 11*d.* Under these duties the colonial trade, which at that time was entirely in the hands of the Cape, rapidly increased. But Mr. Gladstone so manipulated the duties that French wine came in at 1*s.* duty, while Cape wines were charged 2*s.* 6*d.* Under this new duty our importation of wines from the Cape fell from 800,000 gallons in 1859, to less than 50,000 in 1862. The old principle deserves to be adopted again, under which the duty on colonial wines shall be less, or at all events not more, than that on French wines. South Africa produces the finest grapes, and in the greatest abundance, of any country in the world. An alteration in the duty would probably give a great impulse to this industry and to the trade with England.

But the most powerful means at our disposal for making the Cape Colony thoroughly English is large and continuous emigration, especially to Khama country, Swazieland, &c. We do not wish for a greater total emigration from Great Britain and Ireland than now goes on, but we should gladly see some of it diverted from the United States to our own colonies, and of these the Cape and Natal appear to afford, in some respects, great advantages. The chief of these advantages is that the cost of the passage is so much less than to Australia and New Zealand, that the climate is generally better, and that the population is less massed in large towns. The price of good and easily accessible land is low, and arrangements might easily be made for its purchase by instalments. What is wanted is that funds should be provided for passage-money. We have seen that in 1856 Sir Charles Grey advised the Cape Parliament to vote 200,000*l.* for immigration, and that, his advice having been acted upon, about ten thousand settlers arrived. With the present rates of passage and the increased facilities for moving up the country, the cost of settlement need not be more than 10*l.* to 20*l.* per family. If the Colonial Government is not willing to repeat the experiment of 1856 it would surely be wise for our own Government to do so. Even if the requisite money were only lent, it would almost certainly be repaid,

and there can be little doubt that the Cape would sell land of good quality on easy terms. There is no need that the allotments should be large. With ten or twenty acres, tillage and not pasturage would be necessary. Wheat would be grown as well as wool, and we have already seen that the present growth of wheat is often insufficient for the mere consumption of the colony itself. It must always be borne in mind that every Englishman who acquires land in the United States becomes a foreigner perforce. The first necessary step is to take an oath abjuring all allegiance to the Queen. Not only so, but his purchases of our goods amount to only a few shillings per head per annum. Every colonist in the Cape and Natal remains an Englishman, and on an average purchases goods from this country to the amount of 8*l.* or 9*l.* per annum.

I have dwelt at some length on this question, partly because it is one of great interest in itself, but still more because it is of the utmost importance, when our supremacy in South Africa is threatened, that the Cape Colony and Natal shall be heart and soul on the side of Great Britain. But there is a further question. We have now under our protection, or under our direct rule, large tracts of territory in which the native population is very large and the European population very small. Such countries are Zululand, Basutoland, Swazieland, Bechuana-land. It is necessary that we should be supreme in districts outside the boundaries of the Cape, partly because there may be, and indeed there are known to be, large deposits of gold, silver, copper, and iron, partly because we wish to protect and Christianise the native races, and partly because Germany may probably establish its own power wherever we make no claim, and may, by uniting with the South African Republic and the Orange Free State, endanger our whole empire in South Africa. But the question is sure to be raised whether we cannot obtain the honours of empire and the profits of commerce without assuming the responsibility and labour of government. In short, the plan of a confederation will again be mooted. I believe that only one answer to such a scheme is possible. It was ignominiously rejected when proposed by Lord Carnarvon.

But the causes of disunion are infinitely greater and more potent now than they were in 1876. Even a little scheme, proposed by Sir J. Gordon Sprigg, for the promotion of railways and adjustment of customs duties came to grief. That a union of so many and such discordant elements could be placed under the control of the Cape Parliament is obviously impossible. A single illustration will suffice. In 1871 the British Government issued orders that either Cape Colony or Natal should undertake the management of Basutoland, and, by the advice of the Governor, Sir Henry Barkly, the Cape Colony did annex that country. In 1883 Basutoland was disannexed and placed directly under the British Crown. The example of Canadian federation urged by Lord Kimberley in 1871 is wholly misleading.

The best land in the colony is on the eastern side, in Kaf-fraria. The pick of this is in the hands of the natives. Where they use it for crops the soil is being exhausted, but for the most part they use it for flocks and herds. Colonel Coope says 'The only remedy is to give to the individual natives titles. 'The black population is increasing so rapidly that there is 'already insufficient land to supply their wants as graziers. 'Native individual titles would solve this question, as it would 'compel the surplus population to work, and at the same time 'would encourage agriculture, and supply the great need of the 'colony, viz., labour in the country teeming with idlers. But 'the work must be undertaken by the Colonial Government. 'Interference of the Imperial Government is out of the ques-tion.' I quote this as the dictum of a man who knows South Africa well, but I do not agree with his conclusions. Native locations may be good things. I have no doubt but that they are. I have only the impression that they will not be generally made by the Cape Government, which, so far as I can learn, regards the acquisition of land by natives with displeasure.

CHAPTER III

THE TRANSVAAL

THE history of the South African Republic, or, as it is more frequently called, the Transvaal, dates, like that of the Orange Free State and Natal, from the abolition of slavery by Great Britain in 1833. The Boers, disgusted by this abolition, removed from the Cape Colony, and, after enduring great hardships and heavy losses, settled in the three territories I have named. With the Orange Free State, as we have seen, our relations have been almost continuous since we abandoned our rule over that country. The Boers, who took possession of the Transvaal, seem to have separated themselves more completely from Great Britain, although they were still, in point of law, British subjects. They were left for many years to do very much as they pleased. Their territory was fertile and well watered. It had a plentiful supply of natives, and as many of these as were required for cultivating the land and doing other work were taken and employed as slaves. The Basutos, whose wrongs and revenges form so great a part of the history of the Orange Free State did not trouble the Transvaal, and the Boers of the Transvaal for many years did not seriously trouble us. Since 1875, however, their increasing number and rapacity have brought them into frequent collision with Great Britain, and the history of the next ten years is but melancholy reading for any patriotic Englishman. Yet it will probably be found in the future that the complete incorporation of the Transvaal with our Empire presents fewer difficulties than that of the Orange Free State. For we have, by good fortune rather than by good guidance, never entirely abandoned our rights over the South

African Republic, in the manner for which Lord Aberdeen's Government has been justly blamed in the case of the Orange Free State.

For some years before 1875 the Boers of the Transvaal had begun to seize on the territory of the natives and to carry off the people as slaves. In 1876 Lieutenant Cameron, R.N., C.B., delivered an address on South Africa beyond the limits of British occupation, in which he spoke as follows: 'What was wanted was that a strong and determined government, or a great company, should see what could be done with the country. If the country were not taken in hand it would become a wilderness, and its valuable products lost.' The truth and justice of these remarks were made abundantly clear in that same year. The Transvaal was being rapidly ruined. Secocoeni, an able and powerful native chief, was engaged in war with the Boers. The excuse or justification for his rising was, as usual, that the Boers kidnapped and enslaved his people and seized their lands. A letter from an 'Old Colonist,' in the 'Natal Mercantile Advertiser,' seems to show that other people besides the Kaffirs regarded the Boers as the real aggressors. The writer says: 'The Boers have an ingrained persuasion that they have an undoubted right to treat with black servants as slaves, and that the black races were, as the accursed sons of Ham, consigned by heaven to perpetual servitude, without the restraints due to human beings.' While we must condemn the Boers as being fifty years or more behind the times, we have to remember that it was not till the beginning of this century that the majority of Englishmen learned to denounce slavery. Cowper, indeed, said, nearly a hundred years ago:

I had much rather be myself the slave,
And wear the bonds, than fasten them on him.—TASK II.

The language betrays some poetic exaggeration, but in any case he was speaking only for the minority of his countrymen. In fact, it was not till 1833 that slavery was abolished in our dominions in South Africa and elsewhere. It might be thought that our experience of free labour for more than forty years

would have some weight as an example to our Dutch subjects. But their policy and conduct were such that Secocoeni declared war, and his attack was successful so far as the Boers were concerned. The forces of President Burgess were defeated, and he found it impossible to enlist a fresh army. His people were in despair. The State was on the verge of bankruptcy, and President Burgess proposed that he should be intrusted with the powers of a dictator for a number of years. Under these circumstances Great Britain interfered, and Sir Garnet Wolseley subdued Secocoeni. Peace was concluded on February 5, 1877. This last outcome of the Boer management of the native tribes brought about our definite annexation of the Transvaal. Early in March, Sir Theophilus Shepstone informed the President of the Transvaal Legislature that 'if things were not put into 'proper order he would annex the Republic to the British Empire, 'peaceably if possible, and if not, by other means.' President Burgess submitted to the Volksraad plans of reform in administration. He pointed out that the State owed a quarter of a million sterling which it was unable to pay; and 'repeatedly 'declared that the country would be utterly ruined unless radical 'measures of reform were adopted.' He thought that the first step should be to give to himself the powers of a dictator. His plans were summarily rejected, and the Volksraad declined to take any initiative which could lead to giving up the independence of the State. Here was a country peopled by fugitive subjects of the British Crown, whose only claim to possession was founded on the apathy of the British Government; its exchequer was bankrupt; its forces had been hopelessly defeated; the people had been saved from extermination by our army, yet they doggedly refused to ask for the protection and control that was so necessary to their safety, and thought that since Secocoeni had been subdued, though not by themselves, they should have free liberty for a repetition of their faults. The resolution of the Volksraad was passed on March 20, 1877, and on April 11 President Burgess informed the Volksraad that her Majesty had resolved to annex the Transvaal, that he had no means of resistance, and had, therefore, only entered his protest.

On April 12, 1877, the proclamation of British sovereignty over the Transvaal territory was made at Pretoria. There was no excitement. 'The excitement,' says a Cape newspaper, 'would have occurred if Sir Theophilus Shepstone had been marching out of Pretoria. Had he done so, he would have left the Transvaal to immediate anarchy and violence, civil war and native aggression. Now everyone breathes freely. Merchants are beginning to think of re-opening the trade, farmers of buying land.' On May 14 Lord Carnarvon read in the House of Lords the following telegram from Sir Bartle Frere. The telegram was dated Capetown, April 25, 1877. It was in the following terms: 'Sir Theophilus Shepstone issued proclamation April 12. Recites commission, sketches history of existing disorder and anarchy, refers to wishes of inhabitants that country should be taken under British protection, declares territory henceforth British, continues existing courts. Transvaal will remain a separate government. Queen's new subjects to enjoy reasonable legislative privileges, arrangements for the optional use of the Dutch language, existing laws to remain until altered by competent legislative authority, equal justice to all races, private rights of property respected, Government officials able and willing to serve continued in office, *bonâ fide* concessions and contracts of the State to be honourably maintained, payment of the State debt to be provided for.

'Another proclamation notifies assumption of office as Administrator of the Transvaal.' A separate address was issued to the burghers, and the war tax was suspended. 'The inhabitants were reported to acquiesce willingly in the new order of things.'

I may pass very lightly over the troubles from the Zulu Kaffirs during the first two years after the annexation of the Transvaal, because it will be necessary to refer to the question of Zululand under another part of the subject. It is sufficient to say that towards the end of October 1878 the Zulus attacked Colonel Griffiths, the Resident in the Transvaal, with overwhelming forces, and compelled him to retire; that in January 1879 we were defeated with heavy loss at Rorke's Drift, and

again in March at Intombi Drift; that Sir Garnet Wolseley was sent out in May, and that before his arrival at the scene of action Lord Chelmsford had signally defeated Cetewayo at Ulundi. It must be added that, however skilful Sir Garnet Wolseley may have been as a general, he showed little capacity for constructive statesmanship. His division of Zululand into thirteen districts under different chiefs was a failure from the beginning, and we have since been compelled to do, what should have been done at first, viz. to annex Zululand as a single province under the immediate government of the Crown.

In the middle of November 1879 a mass meeting of the English and loyal Dutch in the Transvaal was held at Pretoria. Resolutions were passed stating the satisfaction felt at the reiterated assurance of Sir M. Hicks Beach, Sir Bartle Frere and Sir Garnet Wolseley that the British Sovereignty is irrevocable, and urging the necessity for the immediate granting of a constitution for the government of all classes which would allay discontent, and also for the reform of the native administration, and additional judges and railways. This meeting is interesting as showing that there is a party in the Transvaal devoted to the English connection. But at the end of December 1879 a very different conference took place. A party of the Boers appointed Mr. Kruger as President, and instructed him to summon the Volksraad. From this time the people began to arm. Sir Garnet Wolseley announced at a dinner at Pretoria that henceforward the Transvaal would be regarded as a Crown Colony, and in January 1880, when he was pressed to grant a constitution, he said that it was impossible 'so long as 1,500 or 2,000 men at 'High Veldt were trifling with sedition and coquetting with 'rebellion.' On May 21, 1880, the Queen's Speech referred to South Africa in these terms: 'In maintaining my supremacy 'over the Transvaal, with its diversified population, I desire 'both to make provision for the security of the indigenous races, 'and to extend to the European settlers institutions based on 'large and liberal principles of self-government.' This was the first Queen's Speech during Mr. Gladstone's last administration, and for everything done during the next five years Mr.

Gladstone must be held responsible. At no time in English history has any one man become so nearly a dictator. He was returned with an overwhelming majority. His opponents were powerless. His followers were servile. The meaning of the Queen's Speech in 1880 seems to be clear enough. The natives were to be protected, and the European population of the Transvaal, *not the Boers only*, were to obtain some kind of self-government. On December 28, 1880, the Republic of the Transvaal was proclaimed at Utrecht, and on January 7, 1881, Mr. Gladstone advised her Majesty to speak as follows: 'A rising in the Transvaal has recently imposed on me the duty of taking military measures with a view to the prompt vindication of my authority, and has, of necessity, set aside for the time any plan for securing to the European settlers that full control over their own local affairs, without prejudice to the interests of the natives, which I had been desirous to confer.' On February 27, 1881, the battle of Majuba Hill was fought and our forces signally defeated. About the same date the Volksraad of the Orange Free State passed a vote of sympathy with the Government of the Transvaal. On March 7, Major-General Roberts was ordered to proceed to South Africa and crush the rebellion. Suddenly, and without any reason, except the imperious will of Mr. Gladstone, the whole situation was changed. Sir Evelyn Wood was ordered to secure a suspension of hostilities by the promise of a convention which would practically give the Boers all that they asked. It was rightly believed that this policy was dictated by the Home Government and disapproved by Sir Evelyn Wood. The Cape newspapers said that 'military men and colonists alike regard the issue as most humiliating to England, and as destructive of her prestige in these territories.' A trustworthy informant who had just returned from Swaziland described in bitter terms the hostile attitude of the Boers there towards England. He had left his home for a short time, and during his absence the Boers had taken or destroyed everything he had left. From Durban it was reported that 'should the Boer sovereignty be conceded in the Transvaal, the Boers will by every native in South Africa be regarded as the stronger

'Power. In Cape Colony the loyalty of the Dutch inhabitants 'is being severely strained, and the Boer dream of a free South 'African Republic seems to the Boer mind hastening towards 'realisation.' On April 4, we hear that there had been a great demonstration. The British Lion was caricatured and Mr. Gladstone burnt in effigy in Capetown. From this date the politics of the Cape Colony itself acquired a different tone, and the contending factions have been known as the Dutch and the English parties. So much is this the case that Sir J. Gordon Sprigg, who has managed to conciliate and now represents the Dutch party, explained or apologised for his leaning towards England, not on the ground of his duty to the Queen, but on the lower ground that England, being more powerful at sea than Germany, offered the best basis of alliance !

On August 5, 1881, a convention was signed which includes the following words: 'Her Majesty's Commissioners for the settlement of the Transvaal Territory do hereby undertake and 'guarantee on behalf of her Majesty that from and after the 8th 'day of August, 1881, complete self-government, subject to the 'suzerainty of her Majesty, her heirs and successors, will be 'accorded to the inhabitants of the Transvaal upon the following 'terms and conditions, and subject to the following reservations 'and limitations.' It is not necessary to go through all the provisions of the convention, but some clauses require attention. The boundaries of the Transvaal, or, as it is now to be called, the South African Republic, are fixed by Clause I. Under Clause II her Majesty reserves (1) the right to appoint a British Resident, (2) to move troops through the State, (3) to control the external relations of the State, the conclusion of treaties and the conduct of diplomatic intercourse with Foreign Powers, such intercourse to be carried on through her Majesty's representatives. By Clause III all laws especially affecting natives must receive the suzerain's assent. A Native Location Commission was to be appointed, of which the President should be an ex-officio member. It was provided that no slavery or apprenticeship partaking of slavery should be tolerated; that natives should be allowed to acquire, hold, and dispose of land, but that

all such transactions should be made and registered in the name of the Native Location Commission. The more impetuous politicians of the Transvaal objected even to these terms, and the Volksraad requested that articles 2 and 18 should be so altered as that the suzerain should have no right to the conduct of foreign affairs, but only to their control. They declared that articles 3, 13 and 26 are a breach of the Sand River Treaty of 1852; they denied the right of the suzerain to approve or reject any laws passed by the Volksraad. They declared that the British Resident *being a foreigner* could not be a trustee of property belonging to citizens, and that it was beneath the dignity of the President to become a member of the Native Location Commission. For a time it was thought that the war would be renewed, but Mr. Gladstone would not give way any further, and the convention was signed as it stood on October 25, the Volksraad declaring that they 'relied on England's magnanimity to remedy provisions distasteful to the people.'

The Boers have always claimed that this Sand River Convention made them an absolutely free and independent nation. So perhaps it might be interpreted if, on their part, its provisions had been respected. But one of the most important clauses provides that 'no slavery is or shall be permitted.' The Boers treated this clause with contempt from the very first, and the British Government seems, for a long time, to have been uncertain how to act. A series of papers extending from August, 1867, to March, 1869, was published in a Blue Book, entitled the 'Kidnapping and Enslaving of Young Africans.' It begins with the following letter, addressed by Mr. James Murray, of the Foreign Office, to the Under-Secretary of State at the Colonial Office :—

'Foreign Office, August 30, 1867.

'SIR,—I am directed by Lord Stanley to transmit to you, to be laid before the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, copy of a memorial which he has received from the Aborigines Protection Society upon the system of slavery stated to be carried on by the Boers in the Transvaal Republic; and I am to request that

‘ you will move his Grace to favour Lord Stanley with any
‘ observations which he may have to make upon this subject.

‘ I am, &c.,

‘ JAMES MURRAY.’

The reply to this letter shows the extreme reluctance of the Colonial Office to interfere. The general idea seems to have been that we had succeeded in getting rid of the Transvaal, and that we ought not to be troubled about anything that the Boers did. This letter is from Sir F. Rogers, Bart., to the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and is dated Downing Street, September 20, 1867 :—

‘ SIR,—I am directed by the Duke of Buckingham and
‘ Chandos to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the
‘ 30th ultimo forwarding a copy of a memorial addressed to
‘ Lord Stanley by the Aborigines Protection Society respecting
‘ the practice of slavery, which is alleged to be carried on by the
‘ Boers in the Transvaal Republic. The particular case quoted
‘ in the memorial appears to be the same one which was dealt
‘ with by Mr. Cardwell’s despatch to the Lieutenant-Governor
‘ of Natal, of which a copy was forwarded to the Foreign Office
‘ in my letter of the 12th October, 1865. The Lieutenant-
‘ Governor had consulted the Governor of the Cape of Good
‘ Hope, as Her Majesty’s High Commissioner, as to the steps
‘ which he should take in regard to the alleged existence of
‘ slavery in the Transvaal Republic; and Sir P. Wodehouse
‘ stated his opinion that any *bonâ fide* inquiry into the matter
‘ would be almost impracticable, and that nothing was likely to
‘ be gained by interference on the part of the British authorities.
‘ Mr. Cardwell concurred in the opinion expressed by the
‘ Governor of the Cape; and his Grace is not aware of any
‘ reason for reversing the decision arrived at in 1865.’

Here is another communication from the Colonial to the Foreign Office. It is a letter addressed to E. C. Egerton, Esq., M.P., the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, by

Sir F. Rogers, the permanent Under-Secretary of the Colonial Office :—

‘ Downing Street, October 6, 1868.

‘ SIR,—I am directed by the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos to transmit to you, for the consideration of Lord Stanley, the copy of a despatch of the 18th July from the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, in which he alludes to a proclamation alleged to have been issued by the President of the Transvaal Republic annexing to that Republic a very large extent of territory.

‘ It will be seen that the terms of this proclamation, though publicly announced, are not officially known ; but the nature of them may be gathered from the accompanying extract from a local paper, the *Natal Mercury*. I am directed also to transmit to you a copy of the Convention of the 17th January, 1852, under which the Boers who emigrated from British territory and settled beyond the Vaal were recognised as a separate Government. That Convention, as will be seen, guaranteed in the fullest manner to the Boers the right to manage their own affairs, and that no encroachment shall be made by Her Majesty’s Government on the territory beyond to the north of the Vaal River ; but no boundaries are specially assigned in respect of the territory of the Boers, nor was anything provided for or against their power to extend that territory.

‘ But, assuming the proclamation to be genuine, the question will arise whether, adverting to international law and usage, it is competent to the Transvaal Republic to appropriate by such a proclamation vast territories in South Africa ; and whether, looking to the terms of the Convention, Her Majesty’s Government are in a position entitling them to interfere.

‘ I am desired by his Grace to request that he may be favoured with Lord Stanley’s views upon this question.

‘ It seems very undesirable that this large extent of territory, including as it does the gold fields recently discovered, should be arbitrarily placed under the government of a people who have, in truth, no power to occupy or govern it. Nor will

‘ it escape Lord Stanley’s observation that the annexation of
‘ this territory would very considerably enlarge the field for
‘ continuing those highly objectionable practices which have
‘ been carried on under the colour of apprenticeships, and which
‘ have formed the subject of recent correspondence between this
‘ Department and the Foreign Office.

‘ (Signed) FREDERICK ROGERS.’

These extracts are chiefly interesting as showing the difficulty of managing any business that lies between two or more Government Departments. The Foreign Office wants to know what the Colonial Office thinks, and *vice versa*. While the two Offices are laboriously corresponding, the subject-matter slips out of their hands, and new questions arise with Germany and Portugal. One of the most urgent reforms now required is that there should be a distinct separation between the Foreign and the Colonial Office. The countries in which Her Majesty has a governor or deputy-governor should be completely under the rule of the Colonial Office, while the Foreign Office should be able to act in all other cases without consulting the Colonial Office at all. The shambling interchange of notes between the two Departments serves only to make both of them dilatory and impotent.

But the review of the Transvaal under the Sand River Convention would not be complete without some notice of the despatch of Mr. E. L. Layard, who in 1868 was Her Majesty’s Commissioner at the Mixed Commission Court at the Cape of Good Hope. This despatch was sent direct to the Foreign Office, and then submitted to the Colonial Office. The Foreign Office wishes to know whether the Colonial Office has received any reports on the subject of kidnapping and slavery by the Boers of the Transvaal from the authorities at the Cape, and, if so, what steps, if any, his Grace (the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos) proposes to take in the matter.

Mr. Layard’s report is too long for complete quotation, but some of its paragraphs deserve to be preserved. He writes from Cape Town on July 2, 1868, to Lord Stanley, and says: ‘ My

‘ LORD,—My predecessors and myself have on more than one occasion deemed it our duty to bring to the notice of Her Majesty’s Government the fact that a system of slavery existed in the Republics on our borders, under the specious plea of apprenticing, or *imbocking*, under which some of the worst barbarities have been committed on the native tribes. In particular I would refer your Lordship to a despatch from Mr. Surtees, dated December 1, 1855, published in the Blue Book for 1856.

‘ It again becomes my painful duty to draw your Lordship’s attention to the statements contained in the enclosed annexures, chiefly extracts from local journals, and to acquaint you that the general impression among those who are thought to be good authorities on local politics is that the statements are to a very great extent true. I confess I believe them myself from what I have seen in private letters addressed to other parties, but which I am precluded from using.’

‘ I fear from the records of former transactions that Mr. — is right in saying that, unless a commission is sent to investigate the subject on the spot, no information will be got from the authorities.’

It is clear, therefore, that from the very first the Boers who settled in the Transvaal practised the kidnapping and enslaving of Kaffir children, although the Sand River Convention, which they regard as their charter, distinctly prohibited slavery. It is clear that the British authorities in South Africa from 1855 to 1877 were perpetually protesting against this system. It is clear that we were so unwilling to take the responsibility of a new colony that for twenty-two years the complaints made did not move us to action. But when Mr. Disraeli was in power we took a new departure. The Boers were warned that their kidnapping and slavery must cease, or that their country would be proclaimed as British territory, and, as they were still obdurate and obstinate, the proclamation was at last issued. Their present position and immunities depend entirely on the Conventions of 1881 and 1884, the chief provisions of which I

will shortly give. The full text of these Conventions will be found in the appendix to this book.

In 1882, a Blue Book was issued on March 15, containing the report of the Commission appointed to inquire into and report upon all matters connected with the settlement of the Transvaal Territory. From this report Sir Evelyn Wood dissented. He pointed out that the natives preferred British rule to that of the Boers, and that the boundaries ought to be reduced. The debt of the Transvaal Republic amounted to 425,000*l.*, of which 265,000*l.* is for sums advanced by the British Government. The expense of the war with Secocoeni was 382,000*l.* The commissioners thought that payment should not be insisted upon, but Sir Evelyn Wood pointed out that we had saved the Boers not only from bankruptcy but from extinction, and that they ought to pay. This question obtained a sort of solution in 1884. It was then decided that the Republic should be held liable for payment of the Cape Commercial Bank Loan, the Railway Loan and the Orphan Chamber Debt. These were to be the first charge on the revenue. The second charge was to be the debt to her Majesty's Government which was reckoned at 250,000*l.* with interest at 3½ per cent. The whole was to be repaid in twenty-five years by a sinking fund of 6*l.* 0*s.* 9*d.* per 100*l.* I have looked through the items of our revenue for several years, but cannot find that we have yet received a penny on this account.

The provisions as to the integrity of Swazieland and the prohibition of anything like slavery were renewed by the Convention of 1884. A special clause was inserted to provide for the preservation of the graves of Englishmen, which reminds one of the Jews building the sepulchres of the Prophets. The right of her Majesty to control the foreign affairs was so far modified as to allow any treaty to be made with the Orange Free State. As the Orange Free State can make what treaties it pleases with Holland, Germany, or any other Power, this clause may surrender a great deal of our suzerainty or may cause very serious differences. The claim of the Transvaal to independence practically dates from the Sand River Convention, by which her Majesty conceded to the Boers the right to make their own laws and to

govern themselves in their own way. The claim of Great Britain to interfere was founded on the obvious and notorious facts that the laws so made, and the system of government adopted became a standing menace to the peace of South Africa. The annexation of the Transvaal was effected under Mr. Disraeli. The surrender of 1881, and the further surrender of 1884, were made by Mr. Gladstone as Premier. It is of great importance that we should clearly understand the essential points of difference between the Convention of Pretoria in 1881, and that of London in 1884. It will be seen that the Convention of 1881 grants a very limited, and that of 1884 a very large, measure of 'home rule' to the Boers. In 1881, the first article states that 'the Commissioners for the settlement of the 'Transvaal Territory, duly appointed as such by a Commission 'passed under the Royal Sign Manual bearing date the 5th 'April 1881, do hereby undertake that, from and after the 8th 'day of August 1881, complete self-government subject to the 'suzerainty of Her Majesty will be accorded to the inhabitants 'of the Transvaal upon the following terms and conditions, and 'subject to the following reservations and limitations.' Article 2. declares that 'her Majesty reserves to herself, her heirs and successors (a) the right from time to time to appoint a British Resident 'in and for the said State with such duties as are hereinafter 'defined.' The right to appoint a Resident is preserved in the Treaty of 1884, but his authority is cut down to the level of a Consul in a foreign State. He has no longer any power, but can only report in the same way as our Consul in Peru or Chile. The next claim (b) is the right to move troops through the State in time of war. This provision disappears in the Treaty of 1884. The third reservation (c) is 'the control of the external relations of the said State.' This was so far modified in 1884 as to permit, without asking our consent, any treaty of alliance with the Orange Free State, a permission of which President Kruger availed himself so soon as the death of Sir John Brand and the election of Mr. Riez as President of the Orange River Free State supplied the opportunity of an alliance hostile to this country.

Article 3 in the Convention of 1881 declares that 'no future enactment especially affecting the interests of the natives shall have any force or effect in the said State without the consent of her Majesty, her heirs and successors first had and obtained and signified to the Government of the said State through a British Resident.' This provision is abandoned in 1884, and in lieu of it we have the following: 'The South African Republic renews the declaration made in the Sand River Convention and in the Convention of Pretoria that no slavery or apprenticeship partaking of slavery will be tolerated by the Government of the said Republic.' It is to be noticed that this undertaking in the Sand River Convention was never observed by the Boers, and that the troubles and disasters from which we had to rescue the Transvaal were mainly caused by their persistent habit of treating the natives as slaves. How far the spirit of this engagement to abolish slavery is carried out may be seen from the following extracts from law No. 10, of the year 1887.

The position of a Resident to represent Great Britain was reduced to that of a Consul in a foreign country. In short, the whole convention suggests the idea that although Mr. Gladstone did not venture to take the high-handed course which had been taken by Lord Aberdeen's Ministry in 1853, when we abandoned the Orange River Territory, yet that he was determined to go as near to the concession of absolute independence as he dared. It is still, however, necessary to receive the sanction of the Queen to any treaty with natives on the eastern or western frontiers. On a careful consideration of this convention one can only come to the conclusion that the articles binding on the Transvaal were never observed and never intended to be observed.

As I have already pointed out, the Convention in 1881 required the sanction of the suzerain to all laws affecting the coloured population, in addition to the general provision for-lidding all 'slavery, or apprenticeship partaking of the nature of slavery.' In 1884 the general provision alone was retained. The good faith and humanity of the Boers were accepted as sufficient guarantee. How far this expectation was realised may be judged by quoting some provisions of the Boer Law

No. 10, 1887, for the regulation of the Gold Fields. The following provisions refer to coloured people :—

Clause 76 provides that ‘no coloured person, coolie, or Chinese can hold a licence or be in any capacity engaged in working the gold-fields otherwise than in the service of white men.’ Clause 79 provides that ‘any coloured person, coolie, or Chinese, selling, bartering, or possessing precious metals or precious stones shall be punished by *not more than fifty lashes* and imprisonment for *not more than twelve months*.’ By clause 83 a coloured person who has contracted to serve in any capacity, either verbally or in writing, and who shall neglect or withdraw from his employment or ‘shall use threatening or abusive language towards his master or his master’s wife or any other person lawfully placed over him,’ shall be punished by a fine of not more than 2*l.* or by imprisonment not exceeding one month or by twenty-five lashes. When we consider that the contract may be verbal, and that the master’s evidence as to its effect is sure to have undue weight, we shall see that these clauses sanction what amounts to slavery. Under the Convention of 1881,¹ our Resident would have seen that justice was done. Indeed, the law could not have been passed except after the consent of the Queen. In short, the Convention of 1884¹ was merely a blind or a fraud. Not a single provision in favour of this country has been observed. And there is this fatal flaw—there is no clause providing that the English as well as the Dutch should have a vote. In the Cape Colony the Dutch have equal voting power with ourselves, but in the Orange Free State and the Transvaal we are left out in the cold. Legally, the people of the Transvaal are her Majesty’s subjects who have received a constitution or measure of home rule by her Majesty’s pleasure. Practically, they claim to be an independent State, speak of a British Resident as a foreigner, and propose to place themselves on the same level in all their relations with us as could be maintained by Germany or France.

Article 13 in the Convention of 1881 declares that ‘Natives

¹ For full text of these treaties see Appendices A and B.

'will be allowed to acquire land, but the grant or transfer of such land will in every case be made to and registered in the name of the Native Location Commission in trust for such natives.' This provision is omitted in the Treaty of 1884, and, as I have said, the natives are liable to be beaten or imprisoned for even having in their possession a pennyweight of gold.

It will thus be seen that the suzerainty of the Queen was reduced in 1884 to a mere shadow. But even that treaty has not been observed. Article 2 runs thus: 'The South African Republic will strictly adhere to the boundaries defined in the first article of this convention, and will do its utmost to prevent any of its inhabitants from making any encroachments upon lands beyond the said boundaries. The Government will appoint Commissioners upon the east and west borders, whose duty it will be strictly to guard against irregularities and all trespassing beyond the boundaries.' This clause was clearly intended to preserve Zululand and Bechuanaland. But, in spite of the clause, a large slice of Zululand has been seized by the Boers, and forms a country called the 'New Republic,' which has now received the recognition of the British Government. Raids have also been repeatedly made into Bechuanaland, and have only ceased since Lord Salisbury's proclamation of a British Protectorate.

Of course there will be some people to say: 'What does it matter? Let them go. Give them complete independence.' On consideration, it does matter a great deal. The position has been very much altered by the discovery of gold. The Dutch Boers neither discovered the gold, nor, when it was discovered, did they attempt to work it. All this was left to England. In 1882 the population was estimated at 5,000 English, 38,000 Dutch, and 774,000 natives. Now there are more English than Dutch. A sum of twenty millions has been spent on the mines, but it has been English or Colonial money, not Dutch. Are we then to sit still and allow President Kruger to rule over us as if we were settlers in Spain or Portugal? It must be remembered that the Convention of 1881 accorded self-government not to the

Dutch only, but to the *European inhabitants of the Transvaal*. The least therefore that our Government can do is to declare that the Volksraad shall be chosen by all duly-qualified inhabitants whether Boers or English. Let this be done. Our Government may be, it usually is, indolent and irresolute in its dealings with Colonial affairs, but if it neglects its duty and leaves the Boers to enact such laws as have recently been made, there will probably be a serious civil war and the whole interests of the country, material and moral, will be put in jeopardy.

The Boers with all their bluster, and notwithstanding Majuba Hill, do not suppose themselves a match for this country, and they must be prepared for the contingency that our Government may not always be under the control of a dictator, subservient abroad and tyrannical at home. But they do rely on the supposed complicity of Prince Bismarck. Now, I do not for a moment imagine that Prince Bismarck has any regard for the interests of Great Britain, except so far as they forward those of Germany. If he could obtain a small advantage for Germany by inflicting a serious injury on this country he would obtain that advantage *coûte que cou'e*. Nay, more, both Germany and the United States will seek *unfair* advantages over us, in the belief that nothing they could do would induce Great Britain to declare war. In our dealings with these Powers we are heavily handicapped, and they know it and let us know it. But Bismarck will respect all legal rights, and whatever we may claim to be the meaning of our suzerainty over the Transvaal he will assuredly not dispute the claim. We have subdued the enemies by whom the Boers were completely conquered; we have changed their bankruptcy into plenty; we are legally their feudal superiors, or rather they are legally our subjects, enjoying such a measure of home rule as Mr. Gladstone chose to confer upon them. It is hard if in such a country we cannot insist that the English settler who brings money and industry shall have an equal share with the Boer who only sits at his house-door to sell his lands at enormous prices. The one thing to be remembered is that the autonomy which we forced on the Orange River Territory has never been conceded to the Transvaal. We have rights

there which it only requires a competent and determined statesman to enforce.

The history of the Transvaal is not complete without some reference to the question of Delagoa Bay. The chief complaint of President Kruger is that he is shut out from the sea. The following conversation is reported by Mr. Mathers in his book on 'Golden South Africa.' Mr. Mathers said: 'The Free State are at present favoured by the free admission here of grain, flour, &c., to the disadvantage of Natal. Natal admits Transvaal tobacco free of duty; will not the Transvaal admit Natal sugar and rum free in return?' To which President Kruger replied: 'Yes, certainly, if they will help me with a portion of the customs from a port of my own. Certainly, if they will allow me a portion of the sea-board; but if they hem me in and monopolise the sea-board, and leave me inside the country, as it were in a kraal, and then wish to make terms with me when I am at bay, then I say, Certainly not. If I have my sea-board on the same footing as they have, then we can come to terms over the whole of South Africa, and make an honourable settlement.' It will be seen that President Kruger considers himself quite on the same footing with Queen Victoria; and expects to treat with her on equal terms. But this question of a sea-board oppresses him, and therefore he eagerly seized an opportunity which seemed to offer itself. There is a small piece of territory which belongs to Portugal. The right to it was disputed by England, but we placidly submitted our claims to the arbitration of Marshal McMahon in 1877, and, as a matter of course, his decision was in favour of Portugal. The country was of no value to Portugal, and in 1881 a formal proposal was made to that country for its retrocession on certain terms. That proposal was accepted by the Portuguese Government, and submitted for the approval of the Cortes. But while the debates were going on the battle of Majuba Hill was fought, and following this the surrender of English interests by Mr. Gladstone. Among the other evil results of that surrender was this, that Portugal declined to treat with us for the cession of Lorenzo Marquez,

Now, in 1883 a certain American, Colonel McMurdo, formed the plan of a railway from Lorenzo Marquez towards the Transvaal. The first step was to get through Portuguese territory. How he intended to proceed afterwards we cannot learn. It was commonly believed that the railway would climb the Drakensburg mountains, a rugged and precipitous range of 6,000 to 7,000 feet in height. But Colonel McMurdo thought that if he once got a railway from the sea to any part of the Transvaal, or to any place beyond the Portuguese territory, the rest of his task would be easy. A concession was obtained in 1883 from the Portuguese Parliament. It was made to a Portuguese company, but from the first, everyone knew that Portugal would not spend a penny on the line. The concession was, therefore, hawked about Europe for four years, and its chances of acceptance were greatly retarded by rumours of another concession for a tramway. These rumours were at last set to rest by a distinct statement that the tramway concession would only be valid in case the railway should not be made. So, at last, the Delagoa Bay Railway Company was floated. Of course it was by English and American, not by Portuguese, capital that it was to be built. So long as the matter was in the hands of a Portuguese company the government granted perpetual renewals of time for making the railway. Indeed the time was renewed from 1883 to 1887, without any real work being done. But when once a presumably solvent English company undertook the work, the time for its completion was more sharply defined. The conduct of the company cannot be altogether approved. The line was badly laid out, and, when frequent floods had destroyed it, the discovery was made that a new course must be adopted. A 'competent engineer' was then employed, and a new line planned. Then the company got to work. But by this time the rains had set in, and continuous work was impossible. The end of all was that the railway could not be completed, as promised, by the beginning of July, 1889, and thereupon Portugal cancelled the contract and took possession of the works. It has been stated, on apparently high authority, that this course was adopted quite independently of

the Transvaal. But no one believes this. Portugal does not want the line for itself. President Kruger does want it. The delay in completing the line formed an excuse for the confiscation, and the railway may now be sold to the Transvaal Government. If anything like what has been spent upon it be offered by President Kruger, the shareholders would be wise to accept. But when President Kruger has got the railway, what is he to do with it? It ends at the foot of almost inaccessible mountains. To get it carried on to Pretoria will cost millions, and, although the enterprise and capital of England have greatly enriched the Transvaal, it is unlikely that the millions will be forthcoming. Besides all this, the Transvaal has something else which it should do with its mining royalties. Our Government kindly wiped out about 350,000*l.* of debt incurred in saving the Transvaal from the attacks of Secocoeni, but there is still more than 300,000*l.* owing, with interest accruing year after year at 3½ per cent. We have certainly a right to see that a treaty so disastrous to ourselves should not be made a dead letter whenever a clause was inserted in our interests. The Boers laughed at the treaty when it was made, and openly declared that they would not be bound by its provisions. Nor have they been. They have not respected the boundaries laid down. They have re-introduced a system which is only a disguised slavery, and they have not paid their debts. Are we then to coerce the Transvaal? I venture to think that it is our duty to do so. As I have already said, the population is now more English than Dutch, but it must ever be remembered that the English emigrants to South Africa are apt to acquire Boer sympathies, because of the weakness of our colonial rule, just as English settlers in Ireland are said to become '*Hibernis ipsis Hiberniores.*' But shall we employ force if necessary? Most assuredly. Shall we spend money? Most assuredly. The curse of this country is the doctrine that our empire is not worth preserving if it costs anything to preserve it.

The Sand River Convention, on which the Boers of the Transvaal have always relied as their charter of independence, is as follows. It was signed at a meeting held in the house of

Mr. P. A. Venter, Sand River, on Friday, the 18th day of February, 1852, between Major W. Hogge and C. M. Owen, Esq., Her Majesty's Assistant-Commissioners for the settling and adjusting of the affairs of the eastern and north-eastern boundaries of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope on the one part, and a deputation of sixteen emigrant farmers residing north of the Vaal River. 'The Assistant-Commissioners guarantee in 'the fullest manner on the part of the British Government to 'the emigrant farmers beyond the Vaal River the right to 'manage their own affairs, and to govern themselves according 'to their own laws, without any interference on the part of the 'British Government, and that no encroachment shall be made 'by the said Government on the territory beyond to the north 'of the Vaal River; with the further assurance that the warmest 'wish of the British Government is to promote peace, free-trade, and friendly intercourse with the emigrant farmers 'now inhabiting, or who may hereafter inhabit, that country, it 'being understood that this system of non-interference is binding upon both parties.

'Should any misunderstanding hereafter arise as to the true 'meaning of the words "The Vaal River," this question, in so 'far as regards the line from the source of that river over the 'Drackensburg, shall be settled and adjusted by Commissioners 'chosen by both parties.

'Her Majesty's Assistant-Commissioners hereby disclaim all 'alliance whatever and with whomsoever of the coloured nations 'to the north of the Vaal River.

'It is agreed that no slavery is or shall be permitted or 'practised in the country to the north of the Vaal River by the 'emigrant farmers.

'Mutual facilities and liberty shall be afforded to traders 'and travellers on both sides of the Vaal River; it being 'understood that every waggon containing ammunition and 'firearms coming from the south side of the Vaal River shall 'produce a certificate signed by a British magistrate or other 'functionary duly authorised to grant such, and which shall 'state the quantities of such articles contained in said waggon

‘ to the nearest magistrate north of the Vaal River, who shall
‘ act in the case as the regulations of the emigrant farmers
‘ direct. It is agreed that no objection shall be made by any
‘ British authority against the emigrant Boers purchasing their
‘ supplies of ammunition in any of the British colonies and
‘ possessions of South Africa, it being mutually understood that
‘ all trade in ammunition with the native tribes is prohibited
‘ both by the British Government and the emigrant farmers on
‘ both sides of the Vaal River.

‘ It is agreed that so far as possible all criminals and other
‘ guilty parties who may fly from justice either way across the
‘ Vaal River shall be mutually given up, if such should be
‘ required, and that the British Courts as well as those of the
‘ emigrant farmers shall be mutually open to each other for all
‘ legitimate processes, and that summonses for witnesses sent
‘ either way across the Vaal River shall be backed by the
‘ magistrates on each side of the same respectively, to compel the
‘ attendance of such witnesses when required.

‘ It is agreed that certificates of marriage issued by the
‘ proper authorities of the emigrant farmers shall be held valid
‘ and sufficient to entitle children of such marriages to receive
‘ portions accruing to them in any British colony or possession
‘ in South Africa.

‘ It is agreed that any and every person now in possession
‘ of land and residing in British territory shall have free right
‘ and power to sell his said property and remove unmolested
‘ across the Vaal River, and *vice versâ*; it being distinctly
‘ understood that this arrangement does not comprehend pri-
‘ soners or debtors without providing for their just and lawful
‘ debts.

‘ This done and signed at Sand River aforesaid this 17th
‘ day of January, 1852.’

CHAPTER IV

NATAL

IN order to make our survey of South Africa complete we must next consider the British Colony of Natal. This colony contains about one-third the area of England and Wales and one-twelfth that of the Cape of Good Hope. The population consists of about 32,000 whites and 388,000 natives, so that the proportion of natives to Europeans is twelve to one, while in the Cape the proportion is only two to one. Owing mainly to the opening up of the goldfields in the Transvaal, the trade of Natal has very rapidly increased. Its exports to this country, which consist mostly of wool and maize, amounted in 1886 in round numbers to 682,000*l.*, in 1887 to 904,000*l.*, and in 1888 to 1,070,000*l.* But the Natal imports of British and Irish produce show an advance still more rapid. In 1886 we sent to Natal goods valued at 877,000*l.* In 1887 the value was 1,590,000*l.*, and in 1888, 2,024,000*l.* The total imports of Natal in 1888 were 2,890,000*l.* There can be no doubt but that a great part of this increase is due to the demand for British goods from the gold mines. If railways were made from Durban to Pretoria and from the Cape to the same town, the commerce of Natal and the Cape Colony would continue to increase. But the authorities of the Transvaal wish to remove trade from British territory. They have therefore thrown all their influence to the side of the Delagoa Bay Railway. Commerce appears to know no country, and it is therefore not surprising that the English traders in South Africa, and English financiers at home have warmly supported the Delagoa Bay scheme. In a conference on Railway Extension, called together by Sir Gordon Sprigg, the Transvaal Government was not

represented, and the Orange Free State declared that it would not support any extension of railways beyond Bloemfontein. The extension of the Cape railways from Kimberley to Pretoria and of the Natal railway from Ladysmith to Pretoria would be comparatively easy, but the Boers prefer a railway entirely to themselves although it must cross Portuguese territory. Of course, it is the English and not the Boers who are to find the money. It is very probable that the making of this railway will be found much more costly than has been estimated. The height to be reached from the coast is 8,000 feet and there is then a descent of 4,000 feet. But it will satisfy the Boers if English capital builds a railway whose main object is to transfer British trade into German hands. In all these proceedings and intrigues it is not the Boer people, still less the English residents in the Transvaal, that are interested. It is simply President Kruger and the Boer Government who dread the extension of English influence, and know that their domination is threatened. It would be for the interest of Natal to push forward its railway to the frontier of the Transvaal and if possible to Johannesburg and Pretoria, and it would be for the interest of this country to assist.

One result of the confiscation of the Delagoa Bay Railway by Portugal has been that new projects have been started for constructing a British competing line. The adjacent native territories have been examined with a view to discovering some other route that could be opened up under the absolute control of Great Britain. Colonel Jesser Coope claims to have discovered passes through which a railway could easily be made to the coast of Swaziland. The Delagoa Bay Railway ends at the foot of the Drackensburg mountains, just where these are highest and most precipitous. But about seventy miles further south Colonel Coope says that there are easy passages through the Drackensburg, offering scarcely any difficulties to the railway engineer. The Boers are said to be well aware of this, and to be straining every nerve to annex Swaziland, so as to secure this route for themselves. It becomes, therefore, extremely important that Great Britain should establish such a protec-

torate over Swazieland as may secure the sea-coast. But that is not all. The country itself is rich in gold, iron, and coal. It is probably as rich as any but the very best part of the Transvaal. So far as it has been worked, the capital and management have been found by English subjects. There is, therefore, a double reason for such a protectorate. The king is understood to prefer the English ascendancy, and, indeed, to detest and dread the Boers. For some years Mr. Shepstone, son of Sir Theophilus Shepstone, represented English interests in an informal way. But he has been dismissed, and he is now supposed to favour the Dutch rather than the English party. Perhaps that was one cause of his dismissal. But in any case we ought to have in Swazieland not an informal agent, but a duly qualified and appointed English Resident. In fact it is generally thought that the absolute incorporation of the country by Great Britain is the only way to save it from becoming subject to the Boers. These considerations have now been urged upon Lord Knutsford, and may probably secure his attention. It is certain that since the rebellion in Canada forty years ago no Colonial Minister has had a more difficult task than Lord Knutsford has now in South Africa. But it is all the natural consequence of our timidity and concessions in 1881 and 1884.

But I do not wish to insist mainly on the trade question; there are three points to be considered—empire, colonisation and trade—and of these three trade is not the most important. The first thing to be desired is that our empire shall be strong, as strong as any other empire upon earth, and that cannot be secured by mere wealth. Everything has too long been subordinated to the one question of money. It is a gross, base, detestable heresy, and all the benefits we may have received from Radical rule can never atone for the injury and demoralisation of this creed. To be great, nay even to fulfil our duty, requires, not money only, but land and men. The Romans were not indifferent to money, but above everything they aspired to rule, because they thought themselves worthy of empire. That should be our own attitude, unless we wish to sink into the

position of Holland, and owe our independence to the forbearance or the mutual jealousies of our neighbours. The second matter to be considered in our policy is the necessity of colonisation. 'Wherever Rome conquers,' said Seneca, 'she inhabits'; and this ought to be true of us. Cooped up within the narrow limits of these islands we have at least 300,000 persons every year whom we can spare to till the sparsely peopled countries of the world. Shall we always send two-thirds of them to the United States or shall we provide for them homesteads in our own colonies? In the former case they rapidly become aliens and even enemies. In the latter, even under our present imperfect system, they usually remain our subjects and our friends.

These first two points are matters of high policy. They require the consideration of statesmen. They ought not to be subject to vacillation as one party or the other comes into power. Given a settled policy, to be pursued by Radicals as well as Tories, and trade may be left to individual efforts. But without such a policy, known, approved and settled in advance, trade itself must languish.

These remarks are general, but they have a particular application to South Africa. I am of opinion that it was a mistake to grant 'responsible government' to the Cape Colony in 1871, and even in the Colony itself opinion was so divided that the settlement was carried only by one vote. We have probably been premature, or at least have left ourselves with too little power, even in the case of the Canadian and Australian provinces. But the policy pursued with the Cape should have been still more cautious, for there we had to deal with two distinct nationalities, and with two neighbouring and practically independent States, in which the predominant element was Dutch, and opposed to English rule and English principles of dealing with the natives. It was therefore doubly necessary that the hold we had over the Cape under 'representative' government should not have been relaxed. By forcing 'responsible' government on the colony we did our best to abdicate our position as rulers, and when we added to this our base surrender to the Transvaal in 1881, we left the Cape

electorate divided into the Dutch and the English parties, and the Dutch always in the majority. The trade, the enterprise, the railways, the capital in Cape Colony are mostly English. The House of Assembly is mostly Dutch, not merely in its *personnel* but in its policy and aspirations. If 'responsible' government had been conferred on Natal we might have had the same difficulty. And we came very near to this last year. The Council on August 3, 1887, was almost equally divided, but a resolution was finally carried which rendered impossible all discussions about 'responsible' government during the session. It may be hoped that this will do for the present. The Crown wants more power, instead of less, where disintegration is possible; and, above all, it needs for its representatives men devoted to the empire as well as men of tact and experience. The position of Natal is a fortunate one. The Executive consists of the heads of departments and two members nominated by the Governor from the Legislative Council. The Legislative Council consists of thirty members, of whom seven are nominated, the rest elected under a fixed property qualification. With a Governor of ordinary skill such a Council should be capable of good work and incapable of sinister designs. The management of Natal as an integral part of the empire is fortunately a much easier task than the management of the Cape, but nevertheless it requires a Governor of some ability and one possessed with ideas of imperial policy.

Both the greater part of the Cape Colony and of Natal would form a healthy military station for imperial troops. A year in South Africa would set up many a man in the regiments stationed in India, and it would be still better if whole regiments could take their turn there. But civilian immigration is what Natal most requires, and it should not be difficult for the Home Government to make arrangements for this on a considerable scale. One thing is specially to be remembered. Our home population shows a great and growing proportion of women. In Natal the proportion is reversed. Again, there is abundance of good land which may be bought at 10s. to 15s. per acre, subject to certain conditions as to fencing and occupation.

Natal was discovered on Christmas Day, 1497, by the Portuguese Vasco de Gama, who in remembrance of the day called it 'Terra Natalis.' No settlement of any importance was made until 1824, when some English people occupied the present site of Durban. On the abolition of slavery in 1833 the Boers began to leave Cape Colony, and swarm into Natal, where they hoped to obtain slave labour. The greater number of these immigrants were killed in fighting with the Zulus, who objected to being made slaves. In 1843 Natal, after resistance from the Boers, was declared a British colony, and in 1856 was separated from the Cape, and made an independent colony under the constitution which is still in force. The Governor is appointed by the Crown. It will be seen, therefore, that the Crown retains much more power in Natal than in Cape Colony. I venture to hope that this constitution may be preserved, and the perilous gift of 'responsible government' withheld. Fortunately, Natal is comparatively free from the 'curse of gold,' and thrives on its industry and agriculture.

At present Natal is the only colony which does anything to assist immigration. In 1876 a Land and Immigration Board was established at Durban to promote immigration and colonisation. Between 1878 and 1884 there were 4,683 persons introduced into the colony by the Board, at a cost of 45,000*l*. But 1884 was the beginning of the hard times, or, perhaps, I should rather say, was the year in which England and her Colonies felt the direct pressure of hard times, which had been closing on us for seven years. The trade of South Africa suffered with the rest of the empire. One result of this was that the grants for immigration were suspended, and the work of the Board practically ceased. It is now, however, to be resumed, and no doubt with good results. A settlement is being started at Umzinto, 50 miles south of Durban, and another at Weenen, 140 miles north-west of Durban, on which each settler has an allotment of 50 acres, irrigated by a watercourse, which has been constructed at considerable expense by the Government.

The Natal Hand-book gives the following summary of the situation :—'English farmers who go to Natal with capital will

‘ find a fair soil, a fine healthy climate, pleasant society, and land
‘ at a reasonable price. There is also some opening for farm
‘ hands, for miners and mechanics; but these must remember
‘ that, except as overseers or in the more skilled branches of
‘ work, they will have to compete at a considerable dis-
‘ advantage with cheap coloured labour. In tropical and semi-
‘ tropical countries it is nearly always found that manual labour
‘ is performed by non-Europeans. Englishmen cannot work so
‘ well in hot climates, and coloured labour is far cheaper. In
‘ Natal native labour has not hitherto been sufficiently reliable
‘ or plentiful, because the natives do not in most cases value the
‘ reward for which the work is undergone. The native Kaffir is
‘ good natured and friendly, but often over-addicted to drink;
‘ he lives quite contentedly on the produce of his small garden
‘ and fowls. As a workman he is lazy and irregular, and un-
‘ willing to work for the same master for any length of time.’
The Government of Natal has to some extent met this difficulty
by importing coolies from Madras and Calcutta. The Transvaal
Government meets it by a system of scarcely disguised slavery,
and the Dutch party in the Cape Colony wish to become a
Republic, separated from England, in order that they may join
the Transvaal, and re-introduce slavery. So far, however, Natal
is free from this taint of slavery, and will remain so for so long
a period as it remains a Crown Colony.

It must be admitted that Natal had a long and arduous
struggle with Secocoeni and Cetewayo. But in this case the help
of the English Government was freely given, and the expendi-
ture consequent on our keeping up a considerable force served
to mitigate the distress. Loyalty to the mother country is
natural to a colony which depends on that country for its
preservation and support. Durban is the natural port for the
Transvaal. Delagoa Bay is an awkward and costly makeshift.
But it does not follow that we should therefore hand over Natal
to President Kruger. It follows rather that we should annex
the Transvaal to Natal, a course for which the open violation of
existing treaties gives us ample reason.

The only other territory containing any considerable white

population is what is called the 'New Republic.' The Transvaal Government had no right under the Convention of 1884 to extend its territories southwards. But the Boer freebooters almost immediately began to seize on cattle and land of the Zulus, and so early as March 16, 1886, a Zulu deputation visited the British Sub-Commissioner at Isandleluana to solicit help against Boer encroachments. Nothing, however, appears to have been done. The freebooters annexed mile after mile of land, till at length they thought themselves strong enough to proclaim the 'New Republic.' It was reported that, as soon as this robbery from the Zulus had been condoned by England, the annexation to the Transvaal would be completed, but on November 16, 1887, we learned that the officials of the 'New Republic,' except the President, objected to the proposed union with the Transvaal. This annexation has now been made in defiance even of the treaty of 1884. By what inexcusable folly and neglect this district was allowed to be separated from Zululand I have not been able to ascertain. It was certainly a breach of treaty on the part of the Boers, and should have been resented and forbidden by our Government. But perhaps our Government was engaged in electioneering or in elaborating schemes for the practical independence of Ireland. As the country is found to contain gold, and will therefore probably be occupied by Englishmen, it is a duty to obtain its retrocession.

CHAPTER V

THE NATIVE STATES

I HAVE passed in rapid review the countries of South Africa in which there is any considerable proportion of European inhabitants. Our next duty is to consider those in which the population is chiefly that of native and coloured races. The principal countries are as follows: (1) Pondoland, lying to the north-east of Cape Colony; (2) Basutoland, due north of Cape Colony and bordered by that Colony on the south, by Natal on the east, and by the Orange Free State on the north; (3) Zululand, north of Natal; (4) Swazieland still further north, with the Transvaal on the west and Amatonga on the east; we then come to Delagoa Bay, to which harbour the railway I have already referred to is being built; (5) The Gaza Country, still further north; (6) West of the Gaza Country is Matabeleland; and (7) still further west, Bechuanaland; (8) on the East Coast is (9) Damaraland; and (10) Great Namaqualand, and Little Namaqualand. In Great Namaqualand is a strip of coast claimed by Germany and partly occupied.

With those exceptions these territories are either held by us or by native chiefs who are or have been bound to us by treaty. But it is obvious that we are proceeding without any system or policy. What is required is that, if we do not annex these territories, we should establish a protectorate and appoint a Resident who should officially represent the Crown. At present we are either not represented at all, or have for our representative a mere volunteer, who is practically a private adventurer, and may transfer his allegiance to the Boers if he thinks that course would benefit his private fortune. I will give some

examples. There was at one time a treaty with Amatonga. The Boers had desired to get to the sea in that direction, and had offered a present of 2,000*l.* for a right of way. But the Queen Regent preferred an alliance with England, and, after consulting her native parliament, offered to make a treaty of amity with this country. She was to be protected from the Boers, and on her side she promised to accept no other alliance, except with the consent of the High Commissioner. From some informality, or some carelessness, this treaty has been allowed to fall through, and the ubiquitous Portuguese have stepped into our place. It is true that only a small part of the territory is occupied by Portugal, but it is just that part which may connect the Transvaal with Amatonga. Then there is Swazieland, a country of great mineral wealth. We have already very valuable gold mines there, and many others may yet be opened up. Mr. Shepstone, the son of Sir Theophilus Shepstone, was for many years the sole adviser of the chief on all matters of foreign politics. A treaty was made of the same nature as that with Amatonga. For some reason or other Mr. Shepstone's influence declined. If he had been a properly accredited servant of the British Government, and able to appeal, if necessary, to an armed force, the difficulties in Swazieland would have been avoided. It will be said that an armed force costs money. It will be found that the want of an army will cost us more money or involve us in the loss of South Africa.

Take the case of Matabeleland. The chief of that country, Lobengula, is a man of considerable ability, and had been successful in directing his subjects into the ways of industry and peace, instead of the foraging, pilfering, and petty warfare, to which they had been accustomed. But Lobengula was pestered on every side. Great capitalists from the Cape wanted a concession of all his minerals. The Boers wanted to take his whole territory. In his difficulties he was assured by the Boers that there was no Queen of England, and no help to be hoped for from this country. He sent over two of his ablest chieftains to learn the truth. They were honourably fêted and entertained, just as the unhappy Sultan of Zanzibar had been. They

returned to their own country to tell how great and powerful England was. In the meantime some Anglo-Dutch colonists, the chief of them being Mr. Cecil Rhodes, contrived to get some sort of concession from Lobengula of all mining rights throughout the country. Lobengula promptly denied that he had made such concession. But the difficulty of the whole matter comes in here. Lord Salisbury, notwithstanding the reception of Lobengula's ambassadors, declared that, if the chief chose to alienate his mining rights or his territory, this was no business of ours. In other words, it is no business of ours to protect the native chiefs from speculating adventurers. For my part I think that this is part of our business. I suppose that the High Commissioner is appointed chiefly for this purpose of protecting and directing the native chiefs. If not, what are his duties? The broad question before us is this, Shall we rule South Africa as an imperial possession, just as we do India, but leaving intact the constitutions given to the Cape and Natal, or shall we throw it over to the Cape Government and allow slavery to be universally re-established?

The authority we possess varies greatly, and it should be one of our first efforts to make that authority uniform and permanent. With Swazieland and Amatonga, we have or had treaties by which the chiefs bind themselves not to make any treaty with, or admit any armed forces from, any other Power without the consent of Great Britain.¹ Our position is much the same in Matabele. The chief Lobengula, at the end of April, 1888, signed a treaty of amity with Great Britain, by which he bound himself 'not to negotiate with, or cede any territory 'to any other Power than Great Britain without the consent 'of the High Commissioner.' In this country there is gold, and its occupation by Englishmen in considerable numbers is almost certain. In Damaraland, on the Atlantic coast, the chief Kamaharan has been solicited by German agents, and it was even reported that he had ceded his territory to Germany, but in the 'Times' of 28th September, 1887, we are told that he denied having made any treaty with Germany, and added that

¹ See *Times*, April 20, 1887. Shepstone.

documents purporting to be signed by him and not countersigned by Mr. Robert Lewis, his 'special commissioner for all 'foreign affairs,' are false and illegal and will not be recognised. On this subject the Cape 'Argus' of 17th October, 1887, has the following note: 'It will be well for our rulers, imperial and 'colonial, while rejoicing at any agency that will co-operate 'with ours in the civilization of the regions north of the Orange 'River, to keep a watch, alert but perfectly friendly, upon the 'development of German policy on our border. It is becoming 'evident that the past complications of South African policy 'are mere local squabbles by the side of a not very distant 'future.'

Part of Bechuanaland is completely annexed, part and the richest part is only under our protectorate. The shifting and shiftless character of our policy can nowhere be better seen than in the case of the Basutos and the Zulus. The Basutos are a powerful and active tribe, and occupy a highland district, which however contains a good deal of arable land. Like the Scotch Highlanders of a century ago, they were constantly raiding on the low lands and seizing cattle and other goods. Their country was scarcely large enough for them, and it was perpetually encroached upon by the Boers of the Orange Free State. In 1859, after a long period of robberies and petty warfare on both sides, the Boers made a great attack on the Basutos and were defeated. They were so badly beaten that everyone at the Cape expected their extermination. In this extremity their president, Mr. Bishoff, applied to Sir George Grey, then Governor of the Cape. Sir George Grey, who was one of the best governors the Cape ever had, arranged a peace with which both parties appeared satisfied. A Cape newspaper is quoted by the 'Times' to the following effect: 'It is now confessed, both by 'those who are favourable to the British Government and 'those who are adverse, that the only hope for the future 'safety, nay, for the very existence of the Free State, consists in 'its reunion with the parent colony. It is felt and acknowledged that the systematic want of good faith practised towards 'the natives has produced this melancholy state of things, and

‘that the prestige of British rule, which still conveys to the native mind, in spite of many errors and wrongs in times gone by, the idea of good faith, can alone restore confidence and prosperity.’ In August, 1865, war was again declared against the Free State by the Basutos, under their very able chief, Mos-hesh, who declared that ‘he did not wish to fight with the Queen, or any of her Majesty’s subjects, but only to protect his people against the aggressions of the Free State Government.’ In 1871, the British Government insisted upon the annexation of Basutoland by the Cape Colony, or by Natal, and, on the advice of the Cape Governor, Sir H. Barkly, it was annexed by that colony. But the colony was not successful in its administrations. It spent about four millions sterling in trying to disarm the people and failed. Mr. Mackenzie, in his book on ‘Austral Africa,’ has the following notes: ‘Basutoland is a beautiful hilly country, inhabited by a vigorous, industrious, and prosperous population. . . There are no better customers of our merchants in South Africa.’ In fact, the trade with the Basutos before the annexation to the Cape amounted to 300,000*l.* a year, or more than 1*l.* per head per annum. ‘They not only became satisfied with Imperial rule, but were proud of it. The taxes were paid, and the revenue exceeded the expenditure.’ The annexation by the Cape was not desired by that colony. The question was anxiously debated, and the measure was only passed because the Home Government insisted upon it. In 1883, the Cape Parliament voted its retrocession to the Imperial Government, and, after long negotiation, Lord Derby somewhat reluctantly and ungraciously agreed. In a despatch dated June 14, he said that her Majesty’s Government would accept Basutoland provided that: (1) It should be proved that the natives wish it; (2) The Orange Free State should make provisions to prevent incursion; and (3) the Cape should undertake to pay to the High Commissioner on account of Basutoland all customs, duties, and other revenues which may be received on account of goods imported into the country. Lord Derby added, that ‘if the parties interested should not, by assisting in every possible

'way, give proof that they appreciate the intervention now offered, her Majesty's Government will not hold themselves bound to continue it.' The conditions set forth having been fulfilled, her Majesty's Government did re-annex the country in December, 1883, and appointed Colonel Clarke as Resident. In 1884, an 'Englishman,' complained in the 'Times,' of September 25, that Colonel Clarke was unable to keep the Basutos from marauding, to which Mr. John J. Twine replied that the Orange Free State was most to blame. Whatever may be the truth about individual robberies, it is certain that the Free State threatened to take all the arable land, and would have done so, if Sir Philip Wodehouse had not stepped in and taken the country under British protection.

But the question will be asked why it has happened that the Government of the Cape could not succeed in its annexation of Basutoland. We must answer that the Cape Colony has enough to do in managing its own affairs. It is even doubtful whether its annexation of the Trans Keian territory will be a success. It is certain that outlying districts, such as Stellaland and Goshen, have always submitted with reluctance to incorporation with the Cape and have prayed that they might rather be retained under Imperial rule. These annexations have been forced upon the Cape by the Home Government, which was unwilling to permit anarchy or the further encroachment of the Boers, which disliked the idea of another European Power coming in to share our empire, and which yet desired to avoid all responsibility and, above all, any expenditure. The indolence and ineptitude of the Colonial Office thought that all its objects could be attained by placing the burden on the Cape. We now see that such a policy is futile, and, so long as the present Government controls the British Empire there is no fear of its renewal. What would happen if the party of disintegration should again obtain power no one can tell. The vacillation of our policy is the chief excuse for the distrust and discontent of the colonists. What is most to be desired is that such declarations should be made by her Majesty and such measures adopted as would compel a continuous and settled Colonial policy.

But there is another difficulty. The Dutch party in the Cape are always afraid that the natives may be allowed to vote, and they know that in such a case the English party would have a permanent majority. Then would disappear at one stroke all hopes of a Dutch-German empire, and the English views respecting the position of the natives would be permanently accepted. The English view is that, as the coloured races become civilized and acquire the necessary qualification demanded from the whites, they should have their share in the election of members of Parliament. The Dutch view is fully expressed in a speech by Mr. Theron in 1886. It is thus reported in the 'Cape Times':

'The native question was the question of the future. In the Cape Colony there were two classes of whites: the real colonists, the sons of the soil, and the Europeans who came from abroad; and between these two sections stood the natives. The colonists had always looked upon the natives as their natural enemies. They did not look upon them with contempt, but only as their servants. Europeans, on the contrary, put the blacks on the same level as the whites, and this was distinctly against the views of the colonists, who had found by experience that that was impossible. Now the hon. member for Namaqualand (Mr. Merriman) wished to give part of the natives the franchise, and, if that were done, then soon 380,000 natives would be voters. That was the thin end of the wedge which the hon. gentleman tried to insert. If the natives were to get the franchise then the result would be very bad for the colony, and it would set the Europeans against the colonists in the colony. The natives stand far beneath the white people and ought to be kept there.' It will be seen that this speech marks off the white population into two classes, and practically treats the Europeans, that is to say the English, as intruders. It also claims as the proper colonial view that under no circumstances and no tests can a native be treated on equal terms with a white man. They must be servants and kept in that state. That is to say they must be slaves.

Now it must be admitted that in Jamaica the gift of the

franchise to the blacks produced disastrous results. Nor can it be desirable that the Basutos should vote for members of the Cape Parliament. On the other hand, Mr. Thuron and the Dutch party may rest assured that, so long as the Cape of Good Hope remains an English colony, his views about slavery will receive no countenance or assistance. But it is the existence and the prevalence of such views which have made it necessary that Basutoland shall be retained under direct Imperial rule. It by no means follows that we should give the Basutos any right to vote. What England insists upon, and what the Dutch throughout South Africa deny, is that, while tests of property or of education may be enforced, *colour alone* is not to guide us in giving or withholding any rights. When Lord Derby insisted that the Orange Free State should undertake to prevent any raiding into Basutoland he demanded what was only fair. Nevertheless it will be mainly the duty of the British resident to put a stop to the freebooting marauders and to punish them when caught with exemplary severity. It is now nearly five years since we relieved the Cape from a duty for which it confessed itself unfit. On October 5, in last year, we heard that Basutoland was once more prospering under the rule of Sir Marshall Clark. A despatch from Sir Hercules Robinson says : ‘When the present state of Basutoland is compared with the ‘state of the country when it was handed back to the Imperial ‘Government by the Cape Government three years ago, it will, ‘I think, be admitted that Sir Marshall Clark and his officials ‘have, in dealing with a very difficult problem, shown much ‘patience, forbearance and sound judgment.’

CHAPTER VI

ZULULAND AND BECHUANA

FOR some reason which I have been unable to discover, the small territory called Pondoland, which is nearly surrounded by the Cape Colony, was left independent. By an agreement made in April 1887, the chief Umguikela surrendered the greater part of his country to the Cape, on condition of receiving 1,600*l.* down and a pension for life of 200*l.* per annum. The sharpness of Germany in picking up anything that we neglect, and so obtaining a footing in South Africa, is shown by the fact that Captain Nagel obtained from the chief of Pondoland a large concession of land on the eastern bank of the St. John's River for a German emigration society. Being unable to carry out his part of the agreement, Captain Nagel offered to sell his concession to the British Government. From its situation Pondoland should become part either of the Cape Colony or of Natal, and it is difficult to understand why the annexation is not completed. It is tolerably clear that the chief will be ready to commute his remaining rights for a money payment.

Zululand is a place of more importance. Every one will remember the disasters of our last war with that country; but it is not so well known or remembered that many of the Zulu people declared that they had no wish to fight, but were forced to obey their chiefs; nor that Cetewayo announced at the beginning of the war that he would rather have attacked the Transvaal Boers, but that he preferred to make war against us because he supposed we were weaker than the Boers. The year 1879 deserves to be long remembered. The Cape summer, of which the Midsummer Day may be taken at about Christmas, had been

in 1878 one of unusual drought both in the Cape Colony and Natal. The year 1879 was the second year of drought, and the loss of stock and of wool was ruinous. At the same time the Zulu war broke out. On January 22, 1879, Lord Chelmsford's force was defeated and obliged to retire. Some people at home declared that 'the Cape Colony must find men and money; at present they seem determined to cast the whole burden on the 'weary and heavy-laden mother country.' Thus spoke the 'Times.' A little later, March 4, the Cape 'Argus' took up its own parable. 'The strategy of Lord Chelmsford and the 'broad plan of the High Commissioner's policy are both being 'violently assailed in the newspapers. A general want of confidence in the authorities, civil and military, colonial and imperial, extending to honesty of purpose no less than to ability in action, is one of the most noticeable features of the situation.' On January 21, 1879, part of the 24th regiment and 600 natives were left to meet an attack by 20,000 natives at Rorkes Drift and were naturally cut to pieces. On April 9, 104 men of the 80th regiment were attacked by the Zulus at Intombi Drift; 40 were killed, 44 escaped and 20 were missing, having probably been drowned. To the 'Times' demand that the Cape and Natal should carry on the war at their own cost Sir Bartle Frere retorted that the Cape had already done as much as could be expected. The Home Government was by this time thoroughly aroused, and on May 29 Sir Garnet Wolseley left London to take the command of the British and Colonial troops. Before, however, he reached the scene of action Lord Chelmsford had defeated Cetewayo at Ulundi. It remained to Sir Garnet Wolseley to dictate terms of peace and to decide what must be done with Zululand. He made the ridiculous mistake of dividing the country into thirteen districts with a separate chief over each. Perhaps he had got into his head the Roman motto '*Divide et impera*'; but though he managed to divide he forgot to rule. In the same year Mr. Bradshaw of Manchester read a paper before the Society of Arts which was entitled 'Africa; a paramount necessity for the inhabitants of 'England.' He said that 'Africa would be found to be, as

‘Livingstone described it, “a nearer India” to England. It was ‘a land surpassingly rich in animal, vegetable and mineral ‘wealth, a land of great lakes and rivers forming natural high- ‘ways for commerce.’ There was a population of more than 200 millions, ‘and what was wanted was a railway 500 miles ‘long and steamboats on the lakes and rivers.’ All these matters are now ancient history, but the year 1879 was so eventful for South Africa that I have gone out of my way to recall them.

My present subject is Zululand. Of course the division of the country into thirteen separate governments could not last, and it was rendered still more contemptible when we actually permitted Cetewayo, whom we had with so much difficulty subdued, to become one of the petty chieftains. The chiefs set to work manfully to fight each other, and anarchy prevailed. Still we remained inactive. Prince Bismarck came to the conclusion that we did not care for our possession, and proposed to occupy the Bay of St. Lucia. When it came to this we made up our minds. The Germans were reminded that the territory was ours and requested to withdraw. Zululand was declared a Crown Colony and Mr. Osborn appointed chief Resident. We have not yet, however, insisted on the surrender of the New Republic, a territory simply filched from the Zulus. We shall know that we are masters in South Africa when we have forced the Boers of the Transvaal to execute any one of the provisions of the Convention of 1884.

Matabeleland to the north of the Transvaal is known to be rich in gold. The people of this district are warlike, and obtained the rule over their neighbours the Mashonas by securing Portuguese rifles. Mr. Mackenzie says: ‘Having made a desert ‘on every side, the Matabele tribe are at present divided in ‘opinion as to their future course. The past contact with ‘Europeans and especially with Christian missionaries, the ‘gradual acquirement of personal property by the common people ‘which was all but unknown thirty years ago, the advantages ‘and blessings of peace, have greatly affected the Matabele ‘generally, and especially such parts of the country as have

'come most under Christian and civilizing influences. But there 'is another party who bewail the decay of the good old times of 'rapine. There are no longer cattle to steal or children to 'capture.' The chief Lobengula is favourable to England, and at the end of April in this year a treaty of friendship was concluded, which has at least this effect, that no foreign Power can take possession. Gold is plentiful, and easily to be seen in the quartz. We may therefore take it for granted that Englishmen will very soon occupy the land. But the singular thing is that many of the natives hate 'tsipi,' as they call auriferous quartz, and are preparing to move to the north of the Zambesi. Very likely they may find more gold there and the white man following them in pursuit of it. There is not at present any English Resident appointed, and the treaty gives us less power than we ought to require.

On the West Coast of Africa is the district of Angra Pequina. With anything like judgment or despatch on our part, the Germans would have been prevented from making a settlement there. Sir Bartle Frere, with his usual sagacity and forethought, had perceived that our dominion in South Africa would be more secure if we held the West Coast right up to the Portuguese boundary at Cape Frio. The official hand-book, prepared by the authorities of the Cape Colony for the Exhibition of 1886, gives a good account of what followed. 'The Imperial Government took no action in the matter, beyond sanctioning the 'British flag being hoisted at Walwich Bay and a small piece of 'ground' (about forty square miles) 'surrounding it. A German 'subject, Mr. Lüderitz, had in the meantime acquired rights of 'property at Angra Pequina Bay and his Government, through 'the German Ambassador in London, inquired of the Secretary 'of State whether British protection would be extended to Mr. 'Lüderitz, intimating that, failing British action, Germany would 'itself take its subjects at Angra Pequina under its protection. 'The Secretary of State communicated with the Colony, in- 'quiring, if the place was declared British, whether the Cape 'would be prepared to take the responsibility and control of it. 'When the matter was submitted to the Cape Parliament, it at

‘once passed resolutions in favour of the annexation of the whole coast up to the Portuguese boundary. But in the interval, during which this reference to the Colony was made, a German man-of-war made its appearance and proclaimed a protectorate over the coast from the Orange River to the twenty-sixth parallel of south latitude, and soon after another German gun-boat took possession of the whole of the rest of the West Coast, Walwich Bay and certain islands excepted, in the name of the German Emperor. The British Government acquiesced in the action of the German Government and this settled the question. The Cape Government, however, lost no time in legalising the annexation to the Colony of Walwich Bay, which was done by proclamation of Sir Hercules Robinson under Act 35 of 1884, and at the same time the annexation of the Port of St. John’s at the mouth of the Umzimvubi River on the East Coast, which had been proclaimed British territory in 1878, was completed.’ From other sources of information we are led to believe that the delay in replying to the German ultimatum was not caused so much by the reference to the Cape Parliament as by a prolonged dispute respecting the duty of the Foreign Office or the Colonial Office to undertake the question.

By these proceedings Great Namaqualand was taken from us, and the Germans obtained a firm footing on the West Coast. The territory acquired was not known to be particularly rich. In fact, Angra Pequena is, for the most part, a sandy and unfruitful region. But it is not difficult to conjecture what Germany meant, which seems to have been nothing short of the annexation of all Africa south of the Zambesi except the Cape Colony and Natal. Complete and conclusive information as to the course of events cannot be obtained, but I believe that the following conjectural history will be found to be fairly accurate. The Transvaal Boers came to England at the end of 1883 to make a new treaty with Great Britain. They expected to find Mr. Gladstone’s Government ready to make any and every concession, and particularly that, while a boundary line would be fixed to the south, they would be allowed to extend their territory as they pleased, north, east, and west. The concessions

made to them were very great, and even Lord Derby, whose imperial instincts are imperfectly developed, declared that he had conceded more than he liked. But I am inclined to believe that the Boers then turned more eagerly to Germany. They would represent to Prince Bismarck that, under a Radical Government, England cared little or nothing for foreign possessions; that a German force landing on the West Coast in Namaqualand, or at Angra Pequena, and passing through Bechuanaland, might meet in the Transvaal another German force landing in Zululand. Zululand had indeed been conquered by England, and its chief, Cetewayo, taken prisoner; but, beyond dividing the country among thirteen petty chiefs, England had taken no steps for its government. Accordingly, the Germans proclaimed their protectorate of Angra Pequena and Great Namaqualand, and sent an expedition to Zululand. By this time, however, a change of ministry had taken place, and, what is more to the point, the British public had formed the conclusion that South Africa ought to be retained. The Germans were not allowed to occupy St. Lucia in Zululand. Part of Bechuanaland was declared British territory, and the remainder as a British protectorate.

No one can blame Prince Bismarck for his action. He naturally wished to extend the German dominions, so that there may be ample room for colonies whenever men can be spared from the army. He, we may be sure, had no wish to quarrel with Great Britain, but the course of events seemed to show that Great Britain was careless and supine. The Transvaal, the Orange Free State, the New Republic, and Zululand were rich prizes, and there was a probability that Bechuanaland and Matabeleland were also rich in gold. If my conjectures as to the history of South Africa between 1884 and 1886 are true, the blame lies chiefly with us. We should have formulated and proclaimed a fixed policy, and Germany would not have dared, nay rather would not have wished, to interfere.

There are two other matters which deserve consideration. The first is that we have served an apprenticeship of a hundred years in dealing with the natives of South Africa. We have

learned to treat the people with firmness, justice, and kindness, and for our learning this we must acknowledge a debt of gratitude to our missionaries. The Germans are new to the business, and, although we must give full credit to the German Government for the wish to abolish slavery, we must also admit that the methods adopted by German officials and troops do not command the confidence of the natives. We may say with certainty that there is no country or tribe or nation in South Africa which would not prefer British to German or Boer rule. The second point is that wherever a German protectorate is established, differential duties are enforced, with the design, and with the result, of destroying British trade.

Besides Germany, we have to reckon in South Africa with Portugal. Now, Portugal owes its existence to Great Britain. It has a population of only four millions, less than that of London alone. It has at least two provinces almost bare of inhabitants, to which it sends out emigrants from Lisbon, as we might send emigrants to Canada or the Cape. It has a deficit every year, and frequently forgets to pay interest on its debt, or pays three per cent. where it has undertaken to pay six.

The expenditure on its 'colonial empire,' is the most serious item in its annual deficit. Señor Gomes recently made a speech in which he manifested 'a yielding spirit on the vexed questions of free navigation of the Zambesi, and transit dues for goods passing into the interior. But he makes it a condition that the fullest recognition of Portuguese sovereignty in that region should be accorded. He demands all that he thinks is due to the priority and greatness of the Portuguese discoveries, the traditional influence we exercise in Africa, and the heavy sacrifices which Portugal has made in fulfilling her duties as a colonial Power.' It may also be added that some of the Portuguese territory in South Africa was claimed by Great Britain. Instead of enforcing our claim, we submitted it in a spirit of child-like confidence to the arbitration of Marshal MacMahon, who of course decided against us. It is to be hoped that we have done with arbitrations now, for there is too much jealousy of the power and wealth of this

country to make any foreign arbitration safe or fair. But considering the poverty of Portugal, its yearly deficits through its colonial empire, its obligations to us, we might hope that a liberal payment would secure the retrocession of the Delagoa Bay territory. The railway is not being built by the Portuguese, nor by the Boers, nor by the Germans, but by the English. Our purchase of the territory and control of the railway would ensure that neither should be used to interfere with our rights in the Transvaal and elsewhere. No doubt, the key to the South African question is in the Transvaal. When the gold discoveries first began, there were eight Boers for one Englishman. There are now three English to two Boers. The English at present have no vote. A residence of five years is required for qualification, which is very different from our own laws in the Cape and Natal. But President Kruger begins to fear that even five years will very soon let in a number of English voters, so he proposes to raise it to fifteen years. Our first care should be that the English should have as much right to vote in the Transvaal as the Boers have to vote in the Cape. Our second care should be to appoint a Resident of considerable rank, not a mere Consul, who would see justice done to the English and the native population. There is a third matter for consideration. The Boers have broken the Convention of 1884, whenever it pleased them to do it. They declared at the time that they would not observe its conditions, and they have not done so. It is time that a new order was enforced; and, if this were done, the supremacy of Great Britain would not now depend merely on an armed force, liable to defeat at another Majuba Hill, but on the majority of the inhabitants of the Transvaal.

With respect to the native territories we seem, at last, to have reached something like a principle of action. Where a country has a settled government under a single chief, as in Swazieland, we are content with a Resident. His powers are at present very loosely defined, and they ought to be increased. It is disgraceful that the chief of Swazieland should be allowed to hang his wives for the smallest whim or caprice, while an English Resident remains in the capital, and while the chief

knows that, but for England, he would be swept out of his country by the Boers in a month. In countries which have practically no settled government, like Zululand and British Bechuanaland, we have made an absolute annexation, and this policy should be continued and extended. There seems to be no reason why that part of Bechuanaland, which is only under our protectorate, should not also become a British colony. There is, however, great reason for debating whether possessions in which there are but few English, and which have no constitution granted, should not be placed under the Foreign instead of the Colonial Office. The latter is certainly a less capable department for dealing with such countries.

I have dealt only with the territories bounded on the north by the Zambesi towards the east, and by nearly the same degree of latitude towards the west. It seems possible to deal with this country efficiently and at once. Mozambique and the rest of Africa as far as Egypt present greater difficulties. The slave trade thrives throughout the whole region, and at present we have not strength for its repression, or for governing or colonising. Something must be left for the future. We shall have done a good work if we succeed in ruling properly the countries south of the Zambesi. Companies such as that which has obtained a strip of country from Zanzibar will serve as pioneers for future occupation, as the East India Company served as pioneer for our present empire in Hindoostan.

The last country to which I need refer is Bechuanaland, which lies due west of Matabele. It is divided into two parts. That on the south-east is called British Bechuanaland, and is practically ruled by a British 'Resident.' The remaining portion, which is both larger and more fertile, is only under a protectorate. We have secured its freedom from other European authority, but have not placed it under our direct rule. This is a fault which we may remedy at any time, but the sooner it is remedied the better it will be. The country has at least a double interest for us. It is dear to many of us as the scene of the labours of Robert Moffat and of David Livingstone. There are probably more native Christians in Bechuanaland than in all the

rest of South Africa beyond the limits of the Cape Colony and Natal. There are churches and chapels, schools and mission stations, and a conspicuous example is given of the possibility of civilizing the native races. The people are practically the same race as the Zulus, but having no single chief they are more open to our influence than the natives of Swaziland or Amatonga. But besides this there can be no doubt but that Bechuanaland abounds in gold. The 'Times' of 15th May last reports that Mr. P. Johnston of the Northern Gold-fields Exploration Syndicate walked over 245 miles in a circuit. He tried for gold in 127 places and in 124 he found *rich alluvial gold*. Some people have said that gold has been found there in the days of King Solomon, who certainly seems to have known a great deal of South Africa. But at all events very little has been taken, and it seems probable that this is the only country in which alluvial gold is to be found in considerable quantities. What there may be when we come to mining no one can tell, but our experience elsewhere seems to suggest that wherever we find alluvial gold there is also gold at various depths below the surface. The country is very thinly peopled, and the natives feared an invasion of the Transvaal Boers. That danger will be removed by our occupation, but it is to be hoped that the whole country may become British Bechuanaland and be brought under our direct rule. The land is valuable, however, for other products than gold. It is fertile and well watered. On March 3rd, 1888, the first batch of settlers left England for Bechuanaland. The district they have obtained comprises 600,000 acres and lies between Vryburg and the Maropo River.

The question of Bechuanaland has come prominently before the English public during the last few months. Upon it depends our advance into the populous and wealthy countries in the interior of South Africa. Upon it depends the value of our protectorate of Damaraland and Matabele. We are informed by the 'Morning Post' of March 12 that an interview has recently taken place between President Kruger and President Rietz, having for its objects the establishment of a federal union between the Transvaal and the Orange River Free State, by which among

other objects the control of all railways, though they are to be built with English money, may be vested in the confederates. The 'Morning Post' is usually by far the best authority in the daily press on South African affairs. It observes with perfect truth that such a 'federal union might possibly lead to trouble 'for Natal upon which England would certainly not look 'unmoved. The allied republics could scarcely be content to 'allow a strip of British territory to permanently interpose 'between them and the sea, and they might be expected to use 'every means offering any prospect of success to remove the 'barrier.' It is obvious that the federation would be a permanent menace to Natal, and that if at any time the alliance of Germany or France or even Portugal could be secured, we should inevitably be involved in war or obliged to abandon South Africa. For it must not be forgotten, as is well pointed out by the 'Morning Post,' that the Cape Colony is also largely disaffected and that an alliance between the Cape Colony, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State would involve us in a costly war or commence the dismemberment of the empire. And unfortunately the 'Morning Post' is wrong in its impression that an alliance between the Transvaal and the Orange Free State must be submitted for her Majesty's approval. That was the case under the Convention of 1881, but under the insane surrender of 1884, an express condition was inserted by which a treaty between these two countries might be made without obtaining the sanction of England. The danger is therefore very obvious and very real. I have not the least doubt but that the rapid growth of the English population in the Transvaal and the vast capital expended there will, in the long run, over-ride any attempts at absolute independence. But there the fact is, that at present such a federal union is possible, and undoubtedly it would only be attempted with views distinctly hostile to this country.

It is therefore abundantly obvious that, while leaving no stone unturned, with a view to the retrocession of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal, we must utilise Bechuanaland if we are to reach the interior. Matabeleland, also, is under our

protection, a protection which it is to be hoped that the visit of its representatives to this country will make more complete and permanent. We have surrendered our right secured by the Treaty of 1881 to send troops through the Transvaal. It remains that our proper course is through Bechuanaland. And fortunately the place is not a desert. It is fertile and well watered and rich in minerals. It is valuable both for what it is and what it leads to. The question is whether our Colonial Office can for once make a new departure, and secure a most important territory, not for a few thousand colonists, but for the empire. Hitherto our arrangements have been somewhat as follows. A tract of country has been declared a British settlement, and emigrants have been found to occupy it under British rule. But, so soon as a few thousand inhabitants are collected, they begin to clamour for self-government. The present population of Western Australia is extremely small, yet the people have already asked for 'responsible government'; and, with that, for what they really desire—the absolute ownership of all lands and mines. Unless we are very careful the same result will occur in Bechuanaland. If a country where a settlement has been made proves to be exceptionally fertile or rich in minerals, the Colonial Office is glad thereof, not because a desirable province has been added to the British Empire, but because there is the greater facility for getting rid of it. We have now an opportunity of commencing on a new track. We may, if we will, secure a magnificent territory for the whole empire, and we may decline to abandon it to the first twenty thousand emigrants who settle there, or the first jobber who gets a concession. Besides this, we have to consider the native population, races for the most part docile and eager for British rule, but which must greatly depend upon that rule, *directly exercised*, for their protection. Bechuanaland is, then, rich in itself, and it is our direct road to commerce with and influence over 200 millions of people, to the control of magnificent lakes and rivers, and in fact to the real lordship of South and Central Africa. To secure these results we must, first of all, abandon the distinction between the Colony proper and that part of the country which is vaguely protected from

foreign invasion as being 'within the sphere of British influence.' The whole country should at once be declared a Crown Colony and placed under a single and very capable Governor.

These conclusions are well supported by the resolutions of a committee specially appointed to look after the interests of Bechuanaland and Great Britain. That committee includes Earl Grey, Sir R. N. Fowler, the Right Hon. Richard Chamberlain, a representative of the London Missionary Society and of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, with many others of high standing, and devoted to the maintenance and increase of the empire and the spread of Christianity. The following are the most important resolutions: 'That British Bechuanaland was 'won and has hitherto been successfully administered, at the cost 'of the taxpayers of the United Kingdom, by the officers of the 'Imperial Government. That pressure is being put upon her 'Majesty's Government by certain parties and persons in the 'Cape Colony and in the Transvaal with the object of inducing 'them to hand over Bechuanaland to the Cape Colony. That 'Bechuanaland and the territory to the north, comprising the 'two districts known respectively as "the British Protectorate," 'and the territory "within the sphere of British influence," 'are almost the only remaining portions of the empire under 'the control of the Imperial Government, and still freely available for the purposes of colonisation. That the country in 'question is possessed of great mineral and agricultural wealth. 'That the native population of the country is well disposed 'towards the Imperial rule, but is not well disposed towards 'the rule of the Cape Colony, and in view of the undoubted truth of the above propositions, the committee are of 'opinion that it is desirable to at once establish an imperial 'administration in Bechuanaland in direct communication with 'her Majesty's Government, and that it is not desirable to 'recognise any wholesale concessions to individuals or companies of land or mineral rights in the Crown Colony of 'Bechuanaland, in the protectorate, or in the districts within 'the sphere of British influence.' The committee very justly add that if such concessions have been made, or are pretended

to have been made, they should be considered invalid until they have received the sanction of the Crown. Why, indeed, having won a territory, should we hand over its land and its minerals to the first adventurer that makes a pseudo bargain with a chief in exchange for a few rifles and a few barrels of spirits? We have done this often enough and long enough, and we have received little enough of gratitude. It is to be hoped that no more constitutions will be granted without reserving to the Crown, that is to say for the benefit of the Imperial treasury, the profits of mines and lands, or at least of all mines and of so much land as may be useful for the purposes of emigration.

It is possible, nay it is certain, that the annexation may cost money in the outset (though with due care it will be amply repaid), and the outlay of money drives every Colonial Minister to distraction. Indeed I suspect that these ministers are generally subject to a distinct understanding that they must not ask for money. It may also require the presence of troops. Let the whole truth appear. Can we be a great nation without money and without troops? That has been too much the expectation hitherto. It cannot be done. There is, however, a certain consolation in knowing that we are not likely to come into collision with any European Power. Prince Bismarck has expressed himself as heartily ashamed of the German colonists in Africa and elsewhere, and though he will, no doubt, make it a point of honour to protect settlements already made, he is not likely to authorise any more, or any extension of these. Everything, therefore, is smooth for us in the way to a more scientific and more statesmanlike experiment in colonisation.

CHAPTER VII

MADAGASCAR

AN account of England and South Africa could scarcely be considered complete without some notice of Madagascar and Zanzibar. In each of these countries the English people at one time held the first place, and, indeed, the only place among Europeans, as the pioneers of civilisation and Christianity. In each also, the malign negligence and sordid economy of the men who are called, by courtesy, English statesmen have permitted the destruction of our influence, and the substitution in Zanzibar of Germany, and in Madagascar of France. It will be interesting, although somewhat disheartening, to read of the rise, progress, and decay of British authority. Practically our first acquaintance with Madagascar was made through Christian missionaries, and, indeed, by the London Missionary Society, whose chief representative was the Rev. Mr. Ellis. So long ago as 1820, A.D., King Radama encouraged our missionaries, allowed more than one hundred schools to be established, and sent the children of chiefs to be educated in Mauritius, and even in England. After his death, in 1828, several queens succeeded, and one or two of these persecuted the missionaries and the Christian converts with a bloodthirsty malignity surpassing the cruelties of Nero. Before 1860 an English consulate was established at Tamatave, and in 1867 Mr. Pakenham was consul. The Queen of Madagascar expressed a wish to receive an English naval officer, and Captain Brown, R.N., of H.M.S. 'Vigilant,' accompanied by Lieutenant Bainbridge, waited upon her, being introduced by Consul Pakenham. In 1874 the Rev. Dr. Mullens and the Rev. J. Pillans reported to the London Missionary Society that they had visited Madagascar, that the whole population had

destroyed their idols and become nominally Christian, and that about one-tenth were really converts. In 1875 the English missionaries began to publish an annual review, of which the fifth number, published in 1879, was reviewed in the 'Times.' During all these years, from 1860, although English influence was predominant, the country was open to France also, on the same terms as to England, and Roman Catholic churches were built. That the French were not favourites, and that they had begun to make complaints, may be concluded from a telegram received in London from Paris in 1872, which stated that, inasmuch as 'the king had promised to rebuild the Catholic churches, and to punish the natives who had ill-treated the Catholic missionaries, a bombardment would not be necessary.' To this Mr. Kessler, late missionary in Madagascar, replied that there was no king in Madagascar, and that, so far as he knew, there had been no ill-feeling against France. He asked for particulars of any outrage, but they were not supplied.

About the year 1880 the French began to make claims on Madagascar. In that year Admiral Jones visited Antananarivo, and was well received by Queen Ranavolo, the chief object of his visit being to make arrangements for the suppression of the slave trade. But his courteous reception by the queen gave great offence to the French. Early in 1882 we are told that the French in the island of Réunion were greatly excited by this interview between Admiral Jones and the queen, and by the orders which the queen had given for 35,000 Remington rifles. The Parisian newspapers took up the matter with alacrity. They did not claim everything at once. At first they asserted that they had peculiar rights over the West Coast of Madagascar, because it was regarded as 'a nursing mother' to Réunion, probably in the way of supplying slaves. The next pretext was that in 1827 the peninsula of Isavochano was given absolutely to M. Guillaume, commander of a French war ship. Then it was said that in 1860 the King Langmerina made concessions on the west coast to Captains Bellanger and Rosière. So far there was no claim to the possession or even the suzerainty of the whole island. But two circumstances produced a

change in the demands of France. In the first place, it was observed that England had annexed Zululand, the Transvaal, and Cyprus. Why then should not France take Madagascar? In the next place, it was remembered that Mr. Gladstone was in power with an overwhelming majority at his back, and that he had attained power by the most passionate appeals to the masses against Lord Beaconsfield's policy in every particular, but above all in the conduct of foreign affairs. He had declared himself in favour of a French and Russian alliance, as opposed to one with Germany and Austria. The latter power, indeed, he had attacked in language more virulent than is usually thought becoming for a responsible statesman. The French ministry argued that an acquisition of foreign territory would make themselves popular, that Mr. Gladstone would never go to war with anyone for any foreign possession or protectorate, and that he would never go to war with France under any conceivable provocation. Thus encouraged, the French formulated their demands. One of these, which was curiously omitted from the account of the affair given by the French Yellow Book, but which was submitted to the envoys of the queen of Madagascar, was to this effect: 'It is expressly understood that these concessions'—that is, the terms offered—'cannot in any way question *the general rights which France has from all time claimed over Madagascar.*' A letter to the 'Times,' from Mr. Wilkinson, dated July 28, 1882, reports that M. le Timbre, who had previously only claimed Réunion and the islands off the west coast, had hauled down the Malagasy flags on the mainland. The Queen of Madagascar then determined to send an embassy, including the chief secretary, to London, Paris, the United States, and Berlin. M. le Timbre assumed the extraordinary responsibility of prohibiting the mail steamer from taking the deputation. Nevertheless, on October 4, 1882, the deputation reached Marseilles and started for Paris. There they were treated with the utmost contumely. The French Government formulated its terms, which included the cession of the whole west coast, and the granting of leases of land for ninety-nine years. The deputation declared that they had no power to cede territory, and that leases of ninety-nine years

could not legally be granted. Whereupon the French Government pulled down the ambassadors' flag, and ordered them to quit the country without delay. The deputation, closely watched by the French authorities, at once set out for England.

When the treatment which the Malagasy deputation had received in France became known, a strong feeling of indignation was aroused in England. On November 28, the deputation was driven out of France, and on the same day Lord Granville received a large and influential deputation which earnestly entreated the British Government to interfere between France and Madagascar. Lord Granville replied to the following effect: 'England has rights in Madagascar; so also has France. For some years it was agreed that neither country should take action without consulting the other. Now France has made certain large claims for which there appears to be little foundation. No treaty exists under which France could lawfully assert its sovereignty over Madagascar. But then France has made these claims, and it would never do for the British Government to offend France.' On December 13, 1882, the embassy from Madagascar was introduced by Lord Hartington and received by the Queen at Windsor Castle. On the same day a great meeting was held at Sheffield when it was resolved (1) 'That Government should be petitioned to resist the pretensions of France,' and (2) 'That the meeting desires to express its sympathy with the Queen and people of Madagascar in the perplexities forced upon them by an aggressive European power, and with the ambassadors in the reported treatment they had received from the French Government.' Sir Gore Jones on December 14 presided at a meeting at the Society of Arts. This gentleman was the Admiral, whose cordial reception by the Queen of Madagascar had exasperated the French press. He asserted that the Malagasies had reached a high degree of civilisation. The Prime Minister was the husband of the Queen, and, at the risk of his life, had prohibited the importation of slaves. In March 1883, the Committee of the Madagascar Association protested against the French expedition and petitioned the Government to interfere.

On February 1, 1883, the Rev. J. Piele read a paper before the Society of Arts on the social conditions and prospects of Madagascar. 'The people had been converted to Christianity. The condition of women had been greatly improved. The slave-trade had been prohibited and stopped. If France would leave it alone, Madagascar would work out its own improvement.' Another missionary, Mr. Fox, reports that there were 12,000 children at school and 3,220 church members. The universal feeling among Englishmen interested in foreign missions and in the social and commercial prosperity of Madagascar was that some efforts should be made to save that island from the clutches of France. But all was of no avail. The British Government had many pleasant words to offer, but would give no help, partly for fear of offending France and partly from the dread of spending money. Lord Granville received his reward in the eulogies of the French Yellow Book which added: 'The envoys of Queen Ranavolo have been made sufficiently acquainted with our legitimate claims and the extent of the concessions to which we could agree. They cannot have entertained any illusion respecting the consequences of the attitude they have thought fit to maintain. There is no need for making further representations to Lord Granville.' The envoys had met with the sympathy of the British public, the kindly courtesy of the Queen, the cynical urbanity of Lord Granville, but they could not even obtain the help of a remonstrance from our Government with France. They then journeyed to New York and Berlin in the forlorn hope of assistance from Powers who had really no interest in or connection with the island. Having failed in England they could have no hope. But when they returned at the end of 1883, France was already in possession of Tamatave, and practically mistress of Madagascar. The Hovas were still in arms. The unfortunate envoys were strangled and the Prime Minister murdered. But the French did not wait to hear whether the Malagasy people would accept their terms or continue negotiations. Before the envoys had reached England, or at least before their arrival here could be known, Admiral Pierre had commenced operations and reported that he had 'put an

'end to all the military ports on the north-east coast, seized the 'Mayanga customs, and driven the Hovas out of the port.' In May 1883, Tamatave was bombarded, and the French occupied all the principal custom-houses and all the roads leading to the capital. At the end of May a treaty was concluded, of which the principal terms were: (1) Recognition of the French Protectorate, (2) Abrogation of Article 85 of the Malagasy Laws, so that Frenchmen may own freeholds, (3) Payment of indemnity of 40,000*l.*, and a further indemnity to be afterwards fixed for the French expenses in making the conquest.

In November 1882, the English Government thought it advisable to send a gunboat to Madagascar, and the French newspapers cried out: 'Where is the necessity? There can be 'no danger to English subjects.' As a matter of fact, there was great danger, but the gunboat did no good. The sugar plantations round Tamatave were destroyed. A deputation of English traders waited upon Lord Granville and wished to know whether he would insist upon compensation, since their property, amounting to hundreds of thousands of pounds, had been destroyed. That great statesman smiled as usual. He was very sorry to hear that the French had destroyed so much British property, but since it had been done they must grin and abide by it. But Lord Granville was not entirely idle. He obtained with great difficulty 1,000*l.* as compensation for Mr. Shaw, the British consul, and induced the French to admit that Admiral Pierre had commenced hostilities prematurely and without waiting for orders. This apology Lord Granville was pleased to accept and the incident closed.

Further details are not necessary. The island is now practically a French possession. We have walked out and they have walked in. Some people will say, What does it matter? Great Britain cannot expect to attain universal empire, and when it is a question of ruling and civilising barbarous nations, all European nations are required to share the work. This sounds well. But in the first place we must recall the fact that England and not France did the work of introducing Christianity and civilisation into Madagascar. 'We have laboured and

‘others have entered into our labours.’ In the next place it must be noted that the acquisition of territory by France or Germany means something very different from the acquisition of territory by Great Britain. We subdue, we civilise, we govern, and when we have done so we throw the whole trade and other advantages open to the world. France acts differently. Its territories do not admit our goods at the same tariff as French goods. Very often British merchants are not allowed to settle and carry on trade at all. Elsewhere they are subjected to heavy conditions and restrictions. The laws are not equal, but the French drive us out of Madagascar because they feel certain we shall never retaliate in Mauritius or other British territories where French merchants are placed on an equality with ourselves. But then it will be said, ‘What could our Government do? Would you have us go to war with a great Power about a little savage state of about three million people with a trade of a million sterling per annum.’ This sort of argument may be extended indefinitely. I must answer that if we let it be generally known that no loss and no indignity will induce us to fight, we shall be robbed and flouted all over the world. Of course, if this comes to be the general opinion we shall be bounced and bluffed out of every possession we hold. And I say again that with proper care on the part of our authorities this seizure might have been rendered impossible or excessively improbable. Twenty or thirty years ago we might easily have made a treaty conferring upon us the protectorate of Madagascar. Then the French would not have dared to interfere. I have no doubt that the French would deprecate a war with England as heartily as we can do. But so long as they are assured that nothing will make England fight they can perpetually obtain the rewards of victory without the chances and the losses of warfare.

CHAPTER VIII

ZANZIBAR

THE history of our connection with Zanzibar is another example of the incompetence, timidity, and parsimony of our Government. Zanzibar in 1870 included the four islands of Zanzibar, Pemba, Lamu, and Mafia, and on the mainland the coast from 3° north to 10°, or, as the Sultan says, 10° 42' south latitude. Its boundaries towards the interior were not exactly fixed. This gives, besides the islands, a coast-line of about 900 miles. But when a deputation from the Sultan was received by the Queen at Osborne in 1868, its members claimed that the coast-line was 1,100 miles long. The population was estimated at 765,000 in 1883, of which 100,000 were in the island of Zanzibar alone. In 1864 the imports were 300,000*l.*, of which two-thirds came from the United Kingdom. The exports were also 300,000*l.* In 1883 the imports, chiefly of European goods, amounted to 1,220,000*l.*, and the exports to 800,000*l.* The imports for 1884 are set down at 709,000*l.*, and the exports at 870,000*l.* But prices in that year were lower than in 1883. The total trade may be reckoned at nearly two millions a year, of which a great part came from England, but still more from our province of Bombay. Indeed the Bombay merchants for many years did two-thirds of the total trade, but unhappily they persisted in supporting the slave-trade. As to the revenue, the deputation to the Queen pointed out that it had doubled in five years. In 1876 Mr. Holmewood, then British Consul at Zanzibar, visited some of the towns. He found Mombassa to contain 12,000 inhabitants and Makinda—42 miles north of Mombassa—5,000. The plantations extended twelve miles inland. At Lamo there were fifty-one commercial establishments

belonging to British subjects, mostly Hindoos. He reports also that Kipina at the mouth of the Rivers Ozy and Tama was likely to become a national highway of the first importance, carrying traffic a long way into the interior. In ancient times the population must have been still larger, since Patten with a present population of 100 has the ruins of a town of 100,000 inhabitants.

All the evidence goes to prove that if Zanzibar had remained under British influence, or even if perfectly free and equal intercourse with all European nations had been permitted, a great out-post of civilisation would have been established, and a blow struck at the South African slave-trade. It remains to be considered what opportunities we have had in Zanzibar and how we have used them. In 1860 an insurrection was organised by the Sultan's brother and was suppressed by British aid. Our assistance was warmly acknowledged by the Sultan, who declared himself indebted to us for the security of his throne and dominions. From that time there have been until quite recently very intimate relations between England and Zanzibar. The Sultan felt that he had been saved by us from ruin, and both he and his successor, Burghesh, were devoted to the alliance with Great Britain. On our part we desired no increase of territory, but aimed chiefly at two objects—the improvement of our trade and the suppression of slavery. Some foreign Powers may feel incredulous when we declare that our chief efforts were devoted to the suppression of slavery and the spread of Christianity. We did not neglect trade, but a perusal of the whole history shows that we were always exerting ourselves for the promotion of still higher objects. Perhaps nothing will show this more clearly than the history of missionary work in Central Africa. In 1857 Dr. Livingstone, on returning from his travels, appealed strongly to the Church of England to send out missionaries. His appeal was answered, and the Universities Mission to Central Africa was established. The first bishop was Dr. Mackenzie, and the headquarters of the mission were established at Shiré. The place was unhealthy, and the bishop died. A considerable party in England declared that it was absurd to waste the lives

of our best men in such a career. There was no chance of converting the Arab traders from Mahommedanism, and as to the negroes they were not worth the trouble and the waste of valuable lives. Yet the Universities Mission persevered and sent out Bishop Tozer in 1866. He removed the mission-house to Zanzibar city, but that proved equally unhealthy, and he also died. Still we persevered and endeavoured to find a healthy spot. But we did not succeed till a new aqueduct had been constructed and a supply of pure water obtained. These brief sentences will serve to show that our connection with Zanzibar was not entirely the result of selfish motives, the lust of dominion or the greed of trade; while they prove that at this time Great Britain *alone of European nations had anything to do with Zanzibar*. The next step was the sending of a special mission by the Sultan to the Queen in 1868. The envoys pointed out the extent and growing resources of their country, and requested help in a settlement of disputes with Muscat. They were also authorised to negotiate a treaty by which the slave-trade should be almost entirely suppressed.

In 1873 we had in Zanzibar a most able and zealous consul, Dr. afterwards Sir John Kirk. He was a *persona grata* with the Sultan, and deservedly popular. He was, moreover, an energetic opponent of slavery and still more of the slave-trade. Yet it was thought desirable to supplement his efforts by sending out Sir Bartle Frere on a special mission. It may serve to show how much Zanzibar was considered to be under the peculiar protection of England if we recall the way in which the news of this mission was received. A telegram from Berlin, published in the 'Times' on November 13, 1872, stated that 'the foreign governments to whom England had addressed herself relative to the expedition to Zanzibar have expressed their good wishes for, and their sympathy with, the undertaking, but have not promised any active support.' Another telegram on November 23 assures us that 'the Emperor had expressed sympathy with the mission of Sir Bartle Frere, and had instructed the German consulates on the East Coast of South Africa to give all the assistance in their power.' These tele-

grams show conclusively how thoroughly it was understood that England held a unique position in Zanzibar, and how little the German Government of that day thought of claiming possessions or protectorate in the territories governed by Zanzibar. As it was understood that the native merchants in Bombay were the chief slave-dealers, Sir Bartle Frere went to Bombay first, but he made little impression there. Arriving at the city of Zanzibar in January 1873, Sir Bartle Frere held a levée of native merchants. They, however, bluntly told him that the slave-trade never could be abolished, and that, if its abolition were enforced in any way, the place would be ruined and the Souvali Arabs, who were the chief traders, would desert it. The Sultan said that he personally agreed with Sir Bartle Frere, but that, if he were to sign any document to abolish slavery, his life would be endangered. Sir Bartle Frere persevered in the face of all these difficulties, and succeeded in quieting the fears of the Sultan, and on June 5, 1873, a treaty was signed by Dr. Kirk as representative of Her Majesty, and by a relative of the Sultan as Plenipotentiary of His Highness. The treaty provided for the immediate cessation of the transport of slaves throughout His Highness's dominions, for the abolition of slave markets, and for the protection of all liberated slaves. Mr. Schultz, the German Consul, and the newly arrived consul for the United States used all their influence to assist in making this treaty, but the treaty was made with England alone. It must be remembered that all these arrangements had reference to the exportation of slaves. No attempt was made to abolish domestic slavery, but a blockade of the ports most used by the slave-dealers was enforced, and for a time was so successful that no slaves were shipped, and their price as domestic servants fell to one dollar each. In the same year, 1873, we were reminded by the 'Pall Mall Gazette' of another proof of the relations between England and Zanzibar in the inquiry about the mail contract, and we learn also that the Chancellor of the Exchequer was at loggerheads with the Financial Secretary on the subject. At that time I believe there was no mail service to Zanzibar, except that of England. At the end of December 1874 the

Sultan or Sayyid started for England. He left Lisbon for London on January 5, 1875, but during his stay in Portugal that busy, ambitious, and constantly bankrupt little State expressed its wish to make a treaty respecting its territory adjoining Zanzibar.

The Sultan Burghesh was received with great cordiality and in considerable state by England. It was felt that he had always been loyal to the English connection, and that he was the only potentate in Africa who had honestly attempted to put down the slave-trade, of which Lieut. Cameron said, in an address before the Society of Arts, that 'It must be put down 'or the place would become a desert.' These things being in his favour, it was not surprising that both the Queen and the City of London should confer marks of favour upon him. He was invited by the Queen to Windsor, and the freedom of the city was given to him. At the banquet which followed the ceremony, his health was proposed, and in the course of his reply His Highness said through his interpreter, Dr. Badger: 'I can 'say, in reply to the address of the Corporation about slavery, 'that, God willing, for without Him nothing is strong, nothing 'is great, I shall do my best, and I trust it will not be long 'before the freedom of all people within my territory shall be the 'freedom of Englishmen.'

After the Sultan's return in 1876 it was found that the treaty about slavery had been evaded, but new rules were made which were expected to stop the trade. These rules appear to have been effectual, for in 1878 Bishop Steere writes as follows: 'The slave-trade is practically at an end. In addition to all 'the work at Zanzibar, three stations have been established 'on the mainland, the third of which has been peopled 'with families of liberated slaves who had been cared for 'and educated in the country first occupied by Bishop 'Mackenzie.'

In 1879 the Pasha of Egypt conceived the bold idea that he would secure the trade of Central Africa. He prepared a strong fleet and sent it on its mission under the command of McKillip Pasha. But, when Zanzibar protested, England supported her.

Egypt was compelled to give way, and McKillip Pasha was ordered to return.

On September 27, 1880, our Consul, Dr. Kirk, left Zanzibar on a two years' leave of absence. A great demonstration was made in his honour, the Sultan leading him by the hand to the jetty, which is considered a great mark of distinction. On his return, early in 1883, as Sir John Kirk, he was received with equal honour and enthusiasm. He brought with him for the Sultan the insignia of the Order of Grand Cross of St. Michael and St. George, which had been conferred by the Queen, and the investiture was attended by great feasting and entertainments. In the next year a great entertainment was given by the Sultan to the officers and men of the British fleet.

I have brought together all these various facts in order to show conclusively that for five-and-twenty years the influence of Great Britain over Zanzibar was constant and unrivalled. Neither Germany nor France, neither Portugal nor Italy, put forward any claim either to a protectorate or to any part of the Sultan's dominions. Nor has our influence been without good results. We have founded a Christian Church, and have 10,000 children in Christian schools; we have greatly improved the trade of the country; we have greatly reduced, if not altogether abolished, the slave-trade. In all this we were loyally helped by the late Sultan Burghesh. He did a great deal, too, on his own initiative. A correspondent of the 'Times' gave an account on October 5, 1883, of the investiture of the Sultan with the insignia of a K.C.M.G., and he adds: 'The place is much improved, trade is prosperous, the people are living in luxury compared with their condition a few years ago. His Highness has brought good water in pipes which is delivered free to all the inhabitants of the town, and made a fine road extending several miles beyond the town, and has built many good houses.' Altogether our efforts had not been unsuccessful. But in 1885 rumours began to be circulated that the Sultan had turned from England to Germany. They were probably set afloat by unacknowledged emissaries of Germany. Everyone felt that it was no fault of Sir John Kirk, and a letter to the 'Times' from

Mr. Chancy Maples, of the Universities Mission to Central Africa, gives the following account of the matter: 'The cause is 'the lethargy and indifference shown by the English Government as compared with the great activity recently displayed 'by certain travellers, subjects of European governments whose 'official status it is difficult to determine. It is a common belief 'in Zanzibar that the Sultan is looking wistfully for some more 'definite policy on the part of England; and, failing that, he is 'likely to accept the protection of the first Power that offers 'itself.' That the Sultan, however, still looked to England is proved by an extract from a letter written about this time, in which he says, that 'confiding in the good providence of the 'Most High God, and relying upon Her Most Gracious Majesty 'the Queen, we have no fear of aggression from anyone.' There can be no doubt but that at this time the Sultan would have thankfully placed himself under English protection and hoisted the English flag by the side of his own. If that had been done Germany would not have ventured to interfere. But where we have only interests and influence, instead of treaties and assured rights, Prince Bismarck takes a peculiar pleasure in thwarting and injuring us. There would have been little cost and little risk in such a protectorate, but Mr. Gladstone is not the man to trouble himself about these remote districts, and seems to wish rather to curtail our empire, than to increase our influence. So it came about that Germany made certain claims on Zanzibar which were resisted by the Sultan. On January 21, 1886, the 'Times' made the following very apposite remarks: 'It may be supposed that the relations between 'Germany and Zanzibar have been removed from the category 'of pending questions by the appointment of an International 'Commission. It is in every way desirable for this country 'to treat the colonial expansion of Germany in a friendly spirit, 'but the history of Prince Bismarck's policy in the Cameroon 'district is not altogether calculated to inspire us with confidence in his methods. When he sent a squadron to Zanzibar 'and explained that his commodore had no authority to enforce 'his demands by intimidation, it may have been good policy for

'the English Government to accept his explanation with a 'serious countenance, and to reassure the Sultan accordingly. 'We only hope that we are not being deceived.' In other words the 'Times,' and it fairly represented the British public, accepted his protestations with many reservations and many doubts. These doubts have been amply confirmed. The convention made by Germany and England, in 1886, deprived Zanzibar of nearly all its possessions, but reserved a ten-mile zone on the mainland, that is to say, the whole coast and a territory ten miles inland. But this was only done to satisfy English scruples, for our Government scarcely dared to hand over unconditionally to Germany the whole territory of a faithful friend who had trusted them and followed their advice for a quarter of a century. Having so far satisfied the susceptibilities and the remaining conscience of England, Prince Bismarck waited till the death of the Sultan, after which he calculated England would interfere no more. He appears to have been right. When Sayyid Khalif succeeded his father, he inherited but a small part of the empire of Zanzibar. But even that was further curtailed, and the whole mainland was practically surrendered to Germany in August 1888, only five months after the accession of Sayyid Khalif.

If it be asked what prospects these large pretensions and usurpations open up for Christianity and civilisation, it must be answered very little indeed—none—less than none. No doubt there are Christians in Germany, but they do not seem to go to Central Africa. From the date of the usurpation till now, the natives have been dissatisfied, have broken out into rebellion, have even committed murders, and on one or two occasions have failed to distinguish between an Englishman and a German. No doubt the master of millions can subjugate Central Africa by a profuse expenditure of men and money, but he will never make his 'occupation' a profitable investment or a gain to mankind unless he can conciliate as well as control.

There are one or two observations which this Zanzibar business suggests. In the first place, when we look at the present craving in Germany for a colonial empire, we must expect some day or other to find our interests clash. Now, we must not

suppose that Prince Bismarck has any care for the susceptibilities or the interests of England. If he is once convinced that we should give up anything he wants rather than go to war, he may go so far as to make war inevitable. A policy of perpetual yielding is the surest way to provoke a quarrel. In the next place, it is highly desirable to establish a protectorate or to secure a treaty of amity wherever our interests are great or likely to grow. Many a friendly country would be safe under a protectorate, which would be swallowed up if we had merely an interest in it or friendship for it. I believe that Bechuana-land, for example, is safe now, but that it was in imminent and daily peril before the protectorate was proclaimed. Nor will a change of ministry be likely to cause the withdrawal of annexation or protectorate, but it would be very likely to cause the abandonment of friends. Some people say, Why should we care? Why should not Germany take its part in the civilisation of the world? A correspondent in the 'Times' on Feb. 11, 1879, says, 'Whether Italy or Austria secures the trade of Central Africa is a minor matter. The great question is how to bring the district within reach of commerce. The lakes Albert, Victoria, Tanganyika, and Nyassa all lie together, and the countries which they drain are among the richest in the world. The natives are all peaceable and industrious, and King Mtesa of Uganda, the most powerful potentate in Central Africa, is eager to invite trade.' This is one of the platitudes we often hear. If England secures the trade with any country she leaves it open to the world. Germany and France instantly lock it up. In December 1888 the Commissioner of Germany in South Africa made an impudent claim on the mines of Damaraland, and attempted to palm off a request from himself to the chief as a concession made by the chief to Germany. He was good enough to add that by the law of Germany the mines could only be owned or worked by German subjects. If we are not first in the field we are shut out by protective duties and other restrictions and prohibitions.

Again, what is to be done with what remains of Zanzibar? If we create some protectorate or treaty of amity to the exclu-

sion of other allies, Germany will not interfere. If we fail to do this, we may expect to find the whole country annexed on some trifling pretext.

Lastly, on a review of the whole question of South Africa we must come to the conclusion that a Governor-General is necessary. He should have the same kind of powers over the protected and allied states as are given to the Governor-General of India. He should rather reside at Durban than at Cape Town, both for proximity to the countries governed and protected and to avoid any clashing with the Parliament of the Cape Colony. In this case also, and for other reasons, it is extremely undesirable to give responsible government to Natal. We have enough of it elsewhere.

The news which has recently reached us of the revolution at Uganda makes it doubly necessary that we should protect Zanzibar. The 'Times' quotes a letter from Bishop Smyth in which he says: 'The result of the Germans coming has been 'that, after living safely among the people for nearly twenty 'years, our relations with them growing ever more friendly, we 'now see our work hindered, our lives possibly endangered, and 'our religion degraded, because connected with violence and 'oppression. And all to what end?' It is clear that the methods of the two nations in dealing with natives are not identical. The reports declare and the results prove that, whatever may be the intentions of Prince Bismarck, the Germans in South and Central Africa have been both grasping and cruel. What even Prince Bismarck calls 'a lack of prudence, judgment, 'and humanity,' impartial observers must know to be cruelty and oppression. England must either persuade the Germans to behave a little more like Christians and to treat the natives as human beings, or we must break off any alliance in Africa, and let it be clearly perceived by the natives that Germans and Englishmen are not to be identified. There is a third alternative, *ratio est tertia, cædi*. We may elect to be involved with Germany in a common disaster, and to put back the civilisation of Africa for another hundred years and for the chance of a wiser government than any now existing in Europe.

CHAPTER IX

THE LAKE DISTRICT

THE interior of South Africa, so far as it is yet known, has been discovered, surveyed, and occupied by Englishmen. It has also been claimed by Portugal from the Indian Ocean to the Atlantic. The Portuguese possess Mozambique. They can scarcely be said to govern the country, but they go into debt to the extent of 350,000*l.* a year in order to support the honour of the flag. This is part of the money which Great Britain is always ready to lend to Portugal, and which encourages that minute and impoverished country to use brave words and issue threatening decrees. Our complaints against Portugal are very serious. On July 6 of last year Lord Salisbury spoke as follows:—‘It is claimed that Portugal has the right to all that zone of territory stretching from the Zambesi to Mozambique on the Indian Ocean, and to Angola on the Atlantic, but the claim could only be made by some extraordinary doctrine of constructive acquisition. I believe it rests upon a decree of Pope Alexander VI. of saintly memory.’ The ‘saintliness’ may be taken for a little irony, since Alexander VI. was unquestionably one of the most licentious priests the world has ever known. Lord Salisbury goes on to say: ‘How far that decree can be admitted as an international ground I will not discuss. France and Germany have admitted the claim of Portugal, subject to any rights which other Powers may have. We have not admitted it. But upon that claim Portugal builds a further claim that the Zambesi is hers also, and undoubtedly, if the zone of territory belongs to her, there would be a fair contention to that effect. There is territory beyond,

‘ however, which is not Portuguese, and with which we have
‘ some connection, and also we have interests of an undefined,
‘ though very interesting character, with respect to those
‘ splendid monuments of British energy and enthusiasm shown
‘ on Lake Nyassa. . . . I do not like to pursue this theme too
‘ far, because it would be very easy for language to drop from
‘ my mouth which would rather retard than advance an under-
‘ standing. But I agree with my noble friend in thinking that
‘ the possession of a vast natural highway like the Zambesi,
‘ under the peculiar circumstances of its history, cannot be
‘ claimed by Portugal. After all, it was discovered by English-
‘ men, and it is now principally used by Englishmen. It leads
‘ to settlements wherein Englishmen are conducting their
‘ operations, religious and commercial.’

It would scarcely be expected that a Prime Minister would go further than this in respect to a matter which is under negotiation with a foreign country. But the writers who are not bound by diplomatic caution make out a very serious case against Portugal. In the first place, it is said that Portugal has no real hold even of the Mozambique country. In one map published by the African Lakes Company, it is said that ‘ only
‘ one European Portuguese has ever traversed this land.’ North and east of Mozambique, we have more than twenty trading and mission stations, where only English people are known by the natives. Till Livingstone, Young, Grant, and other of our travellers explored the country, Portugal knew nothing of it. No Portuguese had ever passed up the River Shiré, or seen Lake Nyassa and Lake Tanganyika. In the next place, it is asserted that the Portuguese are as deeply involved as the Arabs in the slave trade. On the other hand, the Lisbon Geographical Society declares that when Lieutenant Cardoso went to Nyassa, ‘ some hostile manifestation on the part of the natives was
‘ indulged in, who imagined they were dealing with English
‘ explorers; but the opposition was soon converted into demon-
‘ strations of respect and cordiality, and the caravan was allowed
‘ to pass when it was recognised to be Portuguese.’ *Credat Judæus.*

It would be a wise policy on the part of Portugal to sell to Great Britain all its possessions and claims in South Africa. Portugal might then have for a few years what it has never had during this century—a balance of income over expenditure. But the Portuguese Government is probably too proud for such a transaction. It is well aware that its colonies are the chief cause of its yearly deficit; it knows and has stated in official papers that they are badly governed and cause a heavy drain on its resources. But it will probably continue to hold them so long as England or Holland will lend the necessary money.

No less than four associations have been formed for the development and improvement of South and Central Africa. In the first place there is a German company with an Imperial charter. The territory 'delimited for German sphere of influence' is about 400 miles by 250. It includes two recognised British stations, named Majasi and Newala. Unfortunately the conduct of the German expedition has not been such as to secure peace, or give any basis for alliance with England. Prince Bismarck has strongly condemned the action of some of his countrymen, although he has found it necessary for his prestige to support them by arms. Captain Wissmann and Dr. Carl Peters are no doubt able and energetic men, but they seem to be animated by an extravagant hostility to Great Britain. Under pretence of looking for Emin Pasha, an attempt seems to have been made to establish a sort of private sovereignty over a vast district. In July last Admiral Freemantle captured the German steamship 'Neera,' laden with stores and arms for Dr. Carl Peters, on the ground that the Emin Pasha expedition of this traveller was opposed to British interests; and, secondly, that the confiscation was justified by the conditions of the East African blockade. The Emin Pasha expedition, said Admiral Freemantle, 'was a purely private enterprise, and the import of arms was only permitted to the executive authorities of European colonies or to the Sultan.' On this matter Dr. Carl Peters was extremely indignant. Arms had been imported by the British 'African Lakes Company,' and if arms for an English private undertaking were 'permitted to

'enter the blockaded territory, the same right held good for 'Germans.' Why this should be so when England was the blockading country is a puzzle. The 'Cologne Gazette' says, in great wrath: 'The confiscation of a German steamer was an act 'of open hostility, which can only be atoned for by restitution, 'compensation, and adequate satisfaction, or by measures of 'retaliation on the part of Germany.' But the attempt to pass a vessel containing arms and ammunition through a blockade duly declared by the British Government was in itself an 'act of open 'hostility,' and was rightly treated as such by the British Admiral. The fact is that there are a few 'filibusters' who wish to obtain large tracts of territory, not so much for colonisation as in the hope of finding gold, and the German Government has withdrawn the encouragement which at first it was ready to give to these schemes.

It is not probable that the British Government will give, or the German Government desire, any further extension of German South Africa. With respect to the German occupation and colonisation, I may take the following from the 'St. James's 'Gazette,' August 16, 1889: 'If Germany had been left to 'herself in Zanzibar the whole place would long ago have been 'afame. It is one good result of English co-operation that 'this has not been the case. But it is a curious instance of the 'different methods pursued by the Germans and English in their 'colonial policy, that whereas the German officials at first 'despised any advice or assistance from their more practised 'allies, recent information from Zanzibar shows that in all their 'dealings with the natives the German officials are obliged, 'not only to accept, but to solicit British mediation.' At present Germany is carrying on war both with the Arabs and the natives, and is equally detested by both. Prince Bismarck is said to be utterly tired of the whole business, and it seems probable that German annexations will be carried no further.

But besides the German Company there are two of British origin already established and at work, while a third obtained a Royal charter in July last. Of these the first in point of time is the 'African Lakes Company.' This has been established

for eleven years, and is partly a missionary society and partly a commercial company. Its prospectus states that the company was established 'for the purpose of conducting trade in the lake districts of Central Africa, in connection with the missions settled in these districts by the English and Scottish Missionary Societies, and of developing in all possible directions the resources of the country.' Its access to the interior of South Africa is by way of Quillimaine and the water route of the Zambesi and Shiré Rivers and the Lakes Nyassa and Tanganyika. It seems probable, however, that Lake Tanganyika will be left to the Imperial British Company. The magnificent inland sea of Lake Nyassa, and the population settled around it, will afford ample scope for the work of the African Lakes Company. The company has a steamer on the rivers, called the 'Lady Nyassa,' and another on the lake, called the 'Ilala.' Its capital is small, only 100,000*l.*, and at present less than half of this has been called up. But it seems to be doing good work, and to base its operations on the principles propounded by Moffat and Livingstone, that the slave trade can be most easily suppressed by making the natives accustomed to regular and fairly-paid labour. The Reverend Horace Waller has recently published a pamphlet called 'The Title Deeds to Nyassaland,' in which he gives an account of the discovery of the lake, and the founding of missions by Livingstone and the Universities Mission. For a time the exploration of the country was assisted by the British Government, and about 30,000*l.* was spent, exclusive of the outlay in building the steamship 'Pioneer,' which was borne on the Admiralty books. But in 1864 the contributions of our Government were withdrawn, and Livingstone was left to poverty and death. The Portuguese claim the rights of first discovery, but it is proved that they had not explored the River Shiré except in its lower reaches, and near to the Zambesi. Dr. Livingstone and his brother, Sir John Kirk, and Mr. Young, traced the Shiré River to the cataracts of Ma Titti, discovered Lake Shirwa, and afterwards, Lake Nyassa, of which the Portuguese had never heard. Mr. Waller adds the following passages. They refer to the colonists of Portuguese descent; for, in fact, only

one native of Portugal appears to have visited the country. 'It would be folly to pretend that the Portuguese and Livingstone got on well together, for the latter not only exposed their utter ignorance of the country, but the decimating system of slave trade and kidnapping which was pursued under their auspices. He took the servant of the Governor of Tette red-handed at the head of a large slave-gang; he tracked the strings of captives not only to the sea where they were exported, but to the very innermost recesses of Africa also, whither many were traded away to distant tribes for ivory.' The pretensions of Portugal have been the great stumbling-block in the way of the Lakes Company, but it is probable that under the firm control of Lord Salisbury a brighter future is before it. We have buried here many of the noblest Englishmen and Scotchmen, and we cannot allow the country to fall back under a system of slavery and the slave trade.

By far the most important and most interesting enterprise is that of the Imperial British East Africa Company. It was incorporated by Royal charter, dated September 3, 1888. The first concession by the Sultan of Zanzibar was made to Mr. Mackinnon, now Sir William Mackinnon, Bart., on May 24, 1887. This was included in the concession of October 9, 1888, under which the company now acts. The territory actually ceded for a term of fifty years, embraces the coast-line for a distance of about 150 miles in length, with an internal depth of ten sea miles, to which may be added hereafter, in part or in whole, the remainder of the Sultan's northern territory. Beyond this belt there is an inland territory of about 100,000 square miles, reaching along the coast from Wamba to the mouth of the Juba River, or from latitude 5 S. to the Equator, and without any definite boundaries inland. The greater part of this territory is not claimed by the Sultan of Zanzibar, nor by any European, and is admitted by Germany to be within 'the sphere of British influence.' The port of Mombassa is within the company's territory. It is one of the best natural harbours on the East Coast of Africa, and capable of receiving the largest steamers. It is proposed to construct

at once a light railway, which, with steamers to be placed on the River Tana, and the Lake Victoria Nyanza, will probably draw the trade for a distance of several hundred miles to Mombassa. With respect to the interior beyond the claims of Zanzibar, treaties and agreements with native chiefs are being made on behalf of the company, whereby large tracts of inland territories will be placed under the company to be held in perpetuity with sovereign, territorial, and other rights. The territories of the company comprise rich pasture and arable lands, and will grow indigo, sugar, tobacco, indiarubber, maize, rice, &c. Another matter of great interest may be mentioned. It is found that the Arabs seize negro slaves mainly to act as porters. When once the light railways are at work this want of porters will cease, and, so far, the slave trade will die a natural death.

And now let us see what has been done. Mr. George Sutherland Mackenzie, one of the directors, and the staff of officers who left London in September, arrived at Zanzibar on October 6, 1888. Mr. Mackenzie was at once received by the Sultan Sayyid Khalifa, who not only ratified the original concession, but by another document, dated October 9, 1888, granted further and important privileges to the company. The next step was to obtain the help of General Mathews, the Commander-in-Chief of the Sultan's forces, to support the company in the occupation of Mombassa. Accompanied by General Mathews, Mr. Mackenzie arrived at Mombassa on October 15. Unfortunately, at about this time the German East African Company had come to grief. The natives within the German sphere of influence were up in arms, and it has been said that the Germans not only fought with the Arabs, but became slave-owners themselves. The natives were disposed to trust the British, but these commotions made arrangements more difficult. Another difficulty arose from the fact that domestic slaves were, and they still are, constantly escaping to the Mission stations. This exasperated the Arabs, who threatened to rebel. The difficulty was got over for the time by Mr. Mackenzie paying about 3,500*l.* for the absolute release of

1,422 men, women, and children who had escaped from their slavery to the Mission houses. But it is clear that this is not a permanent solution. The missionaries do not advise the slaves to run away; in fact, their maintenance is often a heavy burden. But they cannot conscientiously send them back. In a short time, therefore, there will be another 1,400 fugitives and another source of discontent with the Arabs. By opening up the country with roads and railways, we shall probably be able at last to persuade the Arabs that slave labour is the dearest form of labour that can be employed. One effect of this settlement of the Arab claims is to inspire the natives with confidence in us and in the justice of the company.

The continued disturbed state of the territory under German control has destroyed the trade on that coast, and the British Indian traders who had settled there have been glad to seek our protection. In a report which has not yet been published, but which I have been permitted to read, the following passage occurs:—‘All the works now being carried out have the co-operation of the principal traders, and the policy of giving them the opportunities of extending their trading operations at the company’s ports, as well as into the interior, is being appreciated. Some of these traders were invited to become interested in the company’s trading caravans, to which invitation they responded without hesitation. A few successful adventures will have a beneficial effect, and probably native trading will be the best means of rapidly developing the dormant resources of the territories of which the company has taken charge.’ Trade, doctors, and missionaries will be found more effectual in repressing slavery than the German troops. It must be remembered, however, that the company has power to enlist and employ troops. In fact, it has practically all the powers given to the East India Company a century ago, and of which that company made such marvellous use.

It must be remembered that the trade of Equatorial Africa, such as it is, is almost entirely in the hands of British subjects. Until recently there was an emigration of coolies from India amounting to nearly 100,000 annually. I cannot do better on

this point than quote from an article printed by the 'Times' from a correspondent, under date September 8, 1888:—'One of the first tasks the company will have to undertake will be to settle with the fierce Massai warriors and cattle-raiders. This may possibly be accomplished through their great high-priest, who has much influence. Whatever method the company may be compelled to adopt, the Massai must be induced to become peaceful inhabitants of the new State. At present they are the scourge of the whole region.' The North Massai plain is admirably adapted for wheat. It has an average height of from 3,000 to 4,000 feet and a sufficient rainfall.

When the Massai difficulty is settled, there remains the further difficulty of labour. The native African is extremely unwilling to undertake regular labour. This has been a constant source of trouble even in the Cape and the Transvaal. The Kaffir will work out his time, be it a fortnight or a month, or even three months, but when once the time is up he receives his wages and departs for a long spell of comfortable idleness. As I have already shown, the Boers in the Transvaal attempt to solve this problem by a system which amounts to slavery, or at least to enforced labour for a given time. It is for us to work in a different direction, and, by introducing civilisation and Christianity, to teach the natives the need for many things which they now despise, and the consequent necessity for labour. European labour is practically impossible. Englishmen may live and thrive in the Tropics as masters of labour or as merchants, but they cannot do the manual work which is required. The native supply is intermittent and insufficient, and we have therefore to look for supplies from other countries whose natives are accustomed to work in tropical climates; these countries are China and East India. Until quite recently there was an immigration of 100,000 coolies every year from Hindostan. This supply has of late been greatly diminished, mainly because the Government of India was dissatisfied with the treatment of the coolies abroad. The charter of the Imperial British East Africa Company includes ample provision for the proper treatment of coolies and all other workmen, and it will no doubt be

easy for the company to satisfy the Indian Government that the coolies will be fairly dealt with. For more than a century natives of India and subjects of the Empress of India have been establishing themselves as traders and merchants in the Zanzibar dominions, and at the present time there are not fewer than 7,000 Hindoos so engaged, besides their families. They are nearly all wealthy, and all British subjects. When the Imperial East Africa Company succeeds in establishing a government in the interior, there is little doubt but that these Indian traders will make their way inland, because they will now be sure of British protection. As the country to be occupied affords abundant arable land, pasturage, and garden grounds, good climate, and other advantages suited to the natives of India, there is full scope for the immigration and settlement both of zemindars and ryots.

It is said that the Indian Government is now more favourably disposed to the proposals for such emigration. The system of small farming, which has been successful in India, would work equally well in East Africa, and a revenue could be raised from the land as it is now raised in British India. At present a great part of the country is depopulated, and is only waiting for labourers to develop its capacities for cultivation. Indian coolies are now expected to flock to this new region, and will either take up small plots of land to work on their own account or will work under their zemindars.

Moreover, this district is the gateway to a much wider region. The trade of Uganda and the Upper Nile and the great lakes will inevitably be drawn to Mombassa. There are reports that some German traders propose to establish a line of stations through the territory allowed to be within 'the German sphere of influence,' to the Albert Nyanza and the Southern Soudan. Of course, if German traders enter upon such enterprises, we shall not forbid them, but they will be under the protection of the British, not the German flag.

Lastly, it appears that there is still another company which has secured a Royal charter. Its actual designation is not yet announced, but it is intended to obtain the control of Bechuana-

land and the countries to the north. The Duke of Fife, the Duke of Abercorn, Mr. Cecil Rhodes, and other gentlemen of great authority and wealth, are interested in this concession. In this matter the Government appears to be moving with proper caution. Unless we leave these territories to be seized by Dutch, French, Portuguese, or German adventurers, we have only two courses before us. We may establish a protectorate and proclaim them as British colonies. This would probably be the best plan in the long run, but it involves the appointment of a governor and a staff of officers, and the maintenance of a small army. It is our nature to shrink from such expenditure as long as possible. But a charter to a company which is prepared to take all the work and expenditure off our hands is a tolerably simple expedient. We have tried it in India with conspicuous success, and again in the hunting-grounds of the Red River Company, and in the Niger Expedition. We cannot, therefore, be surprised that the example set by the British Imperial East Africa Company should be promptly followed. The terms of this charter are not yet definitely settled. Baron H. de Worms says that it will not permit the company to acquire any territory without the express sanction of her Majesty's Government, nor will it supersede her Majesty's protectorate in Khama, or affect the position of British Bechuanaland as a Crown Colony. It is impossible to discuss this question more fully till the actual terms of the charter are published. They will probably run very much on the same lines as those of the British Imperial Company—that is to say, they will leave nearly everything to the final decision of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, or of the Privy Council. It seems, however, to be understood that there will be a full concession of mining rights. When Mr. Cecil Rhodes is a consenting party to such a charter, it may be taken for granted that he has an eye to the chances of mining. Baron de Worms says that 'the issue of the charter will not supersede 'the British protectorate and the British influence in the territories within which the company will be enabled to operate. 'There will be no right of unlimited extension, nor will the

' company have any such monopoly as would annul any prior ' concessions which may be shown to be valid.' Perhaps, considering the traditional indolence of the Colonial Office, these arrangements are as good as could be expected. It must be remembered that, while the other companies in South Africa depend on concessions made by the Sultan of Zanzibar, this new venture will be confined, for the present at all events, to British territory, and it seems foolish to part with all the mining and other rights of the Sovereign without any stipulation for payment or revenue. President Kruger draws a large revenue from his mining rights, and it seems unreasonable that we should abandon such a source of income to the first comer.

CHAPTER X.

THE LATEST NEWS

THE importance of the Transvaal, in view of the large investments of English capital, compels attention to the question of transit. Everything except meat is excessively dear. In England a four-pound loaf costs 5*d.* or 6*d.* ; in the Transvaal bread is 6*d.* per pound. The mining population has neither time nor inclination to grow wheat. Johannesburg is even now suffering from scarcity which almost approaches famine. Eggs are about 5*d.* each, and cigars vary from 1*s.* to 2*s.* each. Beer sells for 4*s.* a bottle, champagne for 1*l.*, and whisky for 9*s.* Besides their food and lodging, waiters get from 10*l.* to 15*l.* a month, a hotel cook 25*l.* per month, and the book-keeper at a hotel 600*l.* a year. These high prices are the result of several causes. In the first place nearly everyone is so eager to be mining or speculating in mines that very few are left to carry on the necessary industries of the community. In the next place the Customs' duties are extremely high. Lastly, there is the enormous cost of carriage for everything imported by sea. 'Everything that comes from the Cape costs threepence per pound in freight alone.' That is equal to 27*l.* per ton. 'No wonder things are dear. Two hundred waggons a day come into the market-place, each one carrying a precious freight of 7,000 lbs. to 8,000 lbs., and drawn by twenty patient oxen. A month they have been upon the road, and a month they will be returning.'¹ These waggons make their month's journey to Pretoria with full loads, but they come back empty. No one cares to produce anything

¹ See 'The Witwatersrandt Gold Fields,' by K. F. Bellairs, published this year by T. P. Chapman, 149 Strand, W.C.

but gold, so that there is very little freight for the return journey. It is, however, clear that there would be an enormous saving if a railway were carried direct from Capetown to Pretoria. The thirty days would be exchanged for so many hours, and the 27*l.* per ton for so many shillings. But here comes in the political question. President Kruger and the Boers think they have too many English people already, or that, at all events, the Transvaal must be kept as much as possible from intimacy with the Cape Colony, unless that colony becomes independent. On July 31 it was reported from Durban that the Cape Parliament had passed the Railway Bill through all its stages. Mr. Merriman, who was for many years the ablest representative of the English party in the Cape Parliament, protested that the Government policy was fatal to the best interests of the Colony, whose proper base was Kimberley, not Bloemfontein. Now Bloemfontein is in the centre of the Orange Free State, and has no railways either north or east. It is almost incredible that any responsible minister should have proposed to commence a system of railways at such a place; and it is quite incredible that English capital should be subscribed for such a scheme. But President Kruger and the Boers seem terrified by any approach of railways. President Kruger fears that railways would increase English influence, and the Boers fear that the enormous profits they draw from cartage would be diminished or destroyed. The majority of the Volksraad passed a resolution that even a railway from Pretoria to Johannesburg should not be proceeded with for the present. President Kruger declares that he will not sanction any new railway scheme till the Delagoa Bay railway is completed. But it is not said whether he refers to the completion to the frontier of the Transvaal, which is all that the company is bound or authorised to do, or whether he means that the railway must be complete from Delagoa Bay to Pretoria and Johannesburg. Such a line is talked about, but it will be extremely expensive. No prospectus of this railway appears to have reached England, and it is doubtful whether the money for its construction could be found. Again, President Kruger is said to have promised that

he would immediately grant Free Trade with the Cape of Good Hope on the condition that no railway should be carried beyond Kimberley. This proposal seems to have been made with the view of securing the profits of cartage to the Boers, and of isolating England. No reduction in the tariff would compensate for the saving to be effected by railway carriage, as compared with carting by bullocks.

With reference to the continuation of the Delagoa Bay railway to Pretoria, the following telegram came from Lisbon on September 7 last: 'Several journals announce that the tariff convention between the Portuguese Administration and the Transvaal Railway Company has been signed to-day by the Portuguese Colonial Minister and the Transvaal Consul. It is added that the works for the construction of the line from the frontier to Pretoria will shortly be commenced.' I do not accept with implicit faith any statements made by Portuguese newspapers; and, perhaps, it will be time enough to talk about the Transvaal Railway Company when we see its prospectus. For I take it for granted that any such company will want several millions of pounds sterling for capital, and will have to come to England for the money. At present, however, I have not seen the prospectus of any such company. As to a convention between the Portuguese Ministry and the Transvaal Consul, that would appear, by the treaties with this country of 1881 and 1884, to be *ultra vires*, except with the sanction of the Queen.

The interest of this country in the Transvaal is, for the present, centred in the gold fields. We had the same experience in Australia, which colony owed its first great increase of population to the gold diggings. But when these diggings were exhausted, so far as alluvial gold is concerned, the people of Australia, instead of returning home disconsolate, set themselves to sheep-farming and the exportation of wool, to agriculture, and to the development of other resources. Australia flourished, although its yield of gold fell from millions to thousands. It is possible that the same experience may await South Africa. It is also possible that in both countries the output of gold may increase, side by side with the improvement in other industries.

It was confidently predicted that the South African gold mines would yield three millions sterling in 1889. The prophecy has not been fully realised ; but there is a prospect that the output may be nearly two millions. Out of nearly three hundred mines in South Africa there seem to be less than forty which make any returns of gold at all. There has been a great deal of speculation, and the profits on the original capital invested have been very high in a few cases. But there is probably not one company which is paying 6 per cent. on the present price of its shares. It is said, however, by the optimists that a great part of the ore found will not yield payable gold under the simple system of crushing and washing. It is largely mixed with pyrites, and is called intractable or recalcitrant. This ore has accumulated already to the extent of many thousand tons. There are, however, scientific means by which the gold can be extracted even from these ores, which are technically called 'tailings.' These new processes have been in use in Australia for some years. Mines that were thought worthless or exhausted have again become profitable, and the production of gold has risen from a few thousands of pounds sterling to several millions. About four millions a year comes to England ; a great deal goes to India and China to buy tea ; and, as Australia has its own mint, a great deal is coined for internal circulation. The 'tailings' of South African mines may give the same results, if properly treated, but considerable expense and delay must be looked for.

Again, it is said that the deeper the mines are sunk the richer is the return of gold, and this appears to have been proved in many cases. But to go deeper will require more capital and more scientific engineering. At present the yield of gold is not one-half so valuable as that of diamonds, and not one-fourth so valuable as that of wool. There is, however, a fine field for speculation, and the other products of South Africa receive little notice, either from the public or the press.

There can be no doubt but that the Transvaal is a very rich and valuable possession, made so entirely by British energy and capital. There is every reason, therefore, to enforce, with the

utmost strictness, whatever prerogatives have been left to the Crown by the Convention of 1884. This has not hitherto been done. The Boers have been allowed to take the law into their own hands, and to despise every stipulation that they found disagreeable. At present, however, the English population is increasing so rapidly that new relations may be established so soon as the English have votes. It is tolerably certain that President Kruger has some such fears. The following paragraph appeared in the 'Times' of August 27, dated from Brussels on August 26 last:—'M. Dutoit, the Minister of Public Instruction of the Transvaal Republic, has stated at Antwerp that the relations between Great Britain and the Transvaal have so much improved that the latter has nothing more to fear from the English. In the three South African Republics the official language is Dutch, but the immigration of the English is so strong that an immigration of Flemings is much desired to preserve the Netherlandish nationality. M. Dutoit explained at length all the advantages which Flemish immigrants would find in the Transvaal. After explaining the apprehensions entertained in the Transvaal, that the English may become the masters of the country by means of their capital, M. Dutoit recommended a regular system for Flemish and Walloon emigration to the Transvaal, by means of committees, to be instituted there and in Belgium, transmitting and receiving offers and demands of all kinds of labour.'

It is reported that the question of a Federal Union between the Transvaal and the Orange Free State has been postponed to next year, and again, that the Volksraad of the Transvaal object to any change short of the formation of a United States of South Africa. Here, again, crops out the Dutch ambition to obtain supremacy. At the same time, they do occasionally admit that in some measure they must depend upon England. In July last President Kruger said that the Transvaal had to consider the interests of Her Majesty, in order to obtain consideration from her in Swaziland affairs, and, in fact, all Transvaal affairs depended upon mutual consideration on both sides. The great

danger we have to meet and overcome is that of a combination of the Dutch settlers and the malcontent English in the Cape, Natal, the Transvaal, and the Orange River Free State with a view to forming a Republican union, by which British interests would be sacrificed and a possibly hostile power substituted for dependencies. The only hope of our continuing our supremacy in these countries is that our policy shall be generous, continuous, and distinctly announced. It must not be subject to reversal the moment the Radicals come into power. The Colonial Office has done mischief enough, and every new Colonial Minister seems to be incapable of contending against its baneful influence. If party were not so completely the dominant factor in English politics, it would be a blessing to see Lord Rosebery, who really does care for the Empire, placed at the head of the Colonial system of England.

Before leaving the recent history of the Transvaal, it is necessary to consider the present relations of the Boers and the English with Swaziland. Since the earlier chapters of this book were written many changes have taken place. Two years ago King Umbandine had for his chief adviser Mr. Shepstone, son of Sir Theophilus Shepstone, and it was understood that his influence would be used in favour of English interests, and against the encroachments of the Boers. The Boers had received certain grazing rights over part of Swaziland, and they attempted to convert them into mining rights. This was firmly resisted by the King and Mr. Shepstone, and, if our Government had given the latter an official position and adequate salary, our position in the country would have been secured. These things were not done, and Mr. Shepstone seems to have come to the conclusion that Swaziland would be safer and more profitable if he could annex it to the Transvaal. But the Swazies hate the Boers, and Umbandine showed his agreement with this popular feeling by dismissing Mr. Shepstone. Since that time things have gone from bad to worse. In the first place we have a king or chief favourable to the English, and bitterly hostile to the Boers. This king is by no means a reputable person. He hangs his wives on the smallest provoca-

tion. He is licentious, bloodthirsty, and rapacious—a reproduction, on a somewhat lesser scale, of Cetewayo. He is by no means a desirable ally, yet it has only been his authority which has prevented the country being acquired by the Boers. Now, it must be recollected that the Transvaal Government has no legitimate claim to any part of Swazieland. More than this, the boundaries of that country were carefully defined in the Convention of 1881, and Article 24 reads as follows: ‘The independence of the Swazies within the boundary line of Swazieland as indicated in the first article of this Convention will be fully recognised.’ Article 12 in the Convention of 1884 repeats this provision in the same words. In spite of these express stipulations the Boers have continued to make raids into Swazieland. It must be remembered that this country, although small and containing only about 60,000 natives and 600 Europeans, has great resources. People have mainly been attracted to it by its mineral wealth, which has already been proved to be great, and may probably be found to be much beyond present estimates. But it is valuable in other ways. The ‘Times’ of October 9 says: ‘The soil, it is stated, will grow almost anything that is planted, and the climate, though hot in summer, is healthy. Game abounds, and timber is fairly plentiful; and there are rivers enough to render a fairly complete system of irrigation practicable.’ The situation is therefore this. The rule of Umbandine has become intolerable, and it is absolutely necessary that some European power should take possession. The Transvaal Boers would like to do this, but they have absolutely no claim. We have a claim founded on our protectorate of many years standing. Yet it is said that Lord Salisbury proposes to abandon the country to the Boers, and the ‘Times,’ in an article evidently inspired, tries to find some justification for the surrender. At present nothing has been done beyond the despatch of Sir Francis de Winton to examine into the question. The only possible obstacle to annexation by this country is the fact that Swazieland has no access to the sea. The ‘Times’ says: ‘It is understood that our Colonial Office is unwilling to take any decided steps in the

' way of annexation, and indeed, without free access to the ' seaboard, Swazieland might be an awkward possession; that ' seaboard belonging to the Tonga country is, it is believed, ' claimed by the Portuguese. If the Boers are anxious to have ' the country, and if Cape Colony and Natal object to its ' annexation, and especially to the establishment of a trade route ' through Swazieland, it seems probable that Sir Francis has ' received instruction not to insist on the establishment of a ' protectorate, but to hand over the country to the Transvaal, if ' that can be done peacefully.' This article was evidently written by the desire of the Colonial Office to prepare the public for the cession, or at least to see how the public would regard the project. The answer was not long delayed. It is understood that protests have been, or will be, made by Mr. Maclure, of the Transvaal Land Company, by the Forbes Reef Gold Mining Company, by the Press generally, by the Aborigines' Protection Society, and by the London Chamber of Commerce. The only scrap of argument for the surrender of a country which we have practically protected and partially governed for many years is this want of access to the sea. But Colonel Coope has a plan for connecting Swazieland with the Transvaal on the one side, and the sea on the other. He would start a railway from the borders of the Transvaal, within 20 miles of Middleburg. He would cross the Drakensburg mountains at their easiest point at a height of 5,000 feet above the sea level, but by no means so much above the plateau of the Transvaal, which is hemmed in by this range as if by a wall. The gradients would be easy through the valley of the Little Usutu. The Lobombos are a much less formidable obstacle, and can be pierced by a gorge offering no difficulties. After passing through Swazieland the line would reach the sea through that part of Amatonga which is under British protection. The distance would be about the same as to Delagoa Bay, but it is asserted that while the latter line will take ten years to finish, and be enormously costly, the Swazieland line could be made in two years and at a much cheaper rate. If these representations be correct, the only semblance of an excuse for handing over

Swazieland to our enemies is done away with. In any case, Swazieland is as near to the sea as the Transvaal, and can reach it more easily. It is obvious that the surrender of Swazieland to the Boers would be most disastrous to British interests, and scarcely less culpable than the Conventions of 1881 and 1884, by which we practically gave up the Transvaal. It is well known that the Swazies detest the Boers as heartily as the Basutos did ; and, in fact, every native tribe or kingdom that has ever felt their deadly touch does hate them. For it is not merely that they desire to possess themselves of gold mines—they wish also to make the people slaves. If Swazieland is annexed by the Boers the treaties already made will be distinctly broken, and the clause forbidding slavery will not apply. Sir Francis de Winton is only to hand over the country ‘ if it ‘ can be done peaceably,’ and that is very unlikely. Whatever the arrangements might be, war would, in the end, be inevitable, and Kruger would call upon English residents to fight for him ; so that we should have the singular spectacle of Englishmen in arms for the purpose of subduing a friendly country, and handing it over to our bitterest enemies. Lord Knutsford is not thought to be a strong man—very few Secretaries for the Colonies are—but it seems incredible that he should be so wicked as to sell our allies into abject slavery, or leave them to fight an almost hopeless battle for their freedom.

The ‘Times’ (October 9) says in its apology for surrender that there are quite as many English as Boers in Swazieland. This is an absurd under-statement. Certain Boers have some grazing concessions, but they do not live in the country. The great bulk of European inhabitants is English ; and the mining property has been opened up by English capital, and remains under English management. We are told that ‘ the Government have ‘ shown themselves so anxious to extend English supremacy ‘ over the whole region south of the Zambesi, from the west ‘ coast to the east, that if they do decide in the end to allow ‘ Swazieland to fall to the Boers, they will be able to give reasons ‘ that will satisfy those who have British interests at heart.’ This seems to mean that the Government will first surrender the

country and then set to work to find excuses for their action. But could any conduct be more absurd or more inconsistent than to hand over one protectorate to our enemies at the very time when, by the royal charters to the British East African and British South African Companies, we are seeking to extend our authority? Is this in obedience to the policy of Sir Hercules Robinson, that we should first open up the different countries and make them profitable, and then hand them over to an Afrikaner Republic?

On this subject it is advisable to give some extracts from the letter of Sir R. N. Fowler to the 'Times,' published on October 24 last. Sir Robert says that, 'considering the large and increasing amount of British capital which is being invested in South Africa, it behoves the Government to take no steps which may imperil the interests of her Majesty's subjects. I know the feeling to be exceedingly strong in my own constituency, and I believe it be the same in other centres of commerce, that the Colonial Office is far too much disposed to avoid temporary difficulty in a futile attempt to conciliate the Transvaal Boers, and for this purpose neglects the large body of Englishmen settled in South Africa. I wish, moreover, to point out that the 60,000 natives of Swazieland have a claim to consideration. England has made mistakes in dealing with native races, but the intentions of the country have been to do the best under difficult circumstances. The Boers, on the other hand, regard the blacks as they do their cattle—as a race to be treated entirely for their own profit. To hand over a country to them is to hand over the native population to oppression.'

A protest was also sent, on October 23, by the Aborigines' Protection Society, from which I may give the following extracts:—The Committee resolved, 'That this Committee regards with alarm the rumours which have been circulated as to the probable transfer of Swazieland to the Transvaal Government, and earnestly hopes that her Majesty's Government will take advantage of the mission of Sir Francis de Winton to secure for that country, under the Convention of 1884, the protection of the natives from Boer aggression.' Besides this, any extension

of the South African Republic to these limits must soon lead to the absorption, either by the Government of the Transvaal or by that of Portugal, of the adjacent districts held by the Tongas and other tribes whose condition is rendered all the more perilous by their contiguity to the disturbed districts in Northern Zululand.

These extracts may serve to show the feelings of alarm and indignation which the suggested cession has aroused. I may even go further and say that the surrender of Swazieland would render inevitable the ruin of our Empire in South Africa. It is, however, somewhat re-assuring to learn that the following letter has been written by Lord Knutsford to the Secretary of the Aborigines' Protection Society, dated 'Colonial Office, 'October 31':—

'SIR,—I am directed by Lord Knutsford to acknowledge 'the receipt of your letter of the 23rd inst., in which you enclose 'a copy of a resolution passed by the Aborigines' Protection 'Society on the 22nd inst. in regard to the affairs of Swazieland. 'Lord Knutsford desires me to state, with reference to the 'tenor of this resolution, and to the representations made in 'your letter, that Sir Francis de Winton's mission to Swazieland 'is one of inquiry, with a view to enabling her Majesty's 'Government to decide what course it is most desirable to take 'in regard to that country, in the interests of both natives and 'white settlers, and of South Africa generally; and that what- 'ever course may be ultimately decided upon, the interests of 'the natives will be carefully kept in view, and their wishes will 'receive due consideration.

'I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

'ROBERT G. W. HERBERT.'

Comparing this letter with the evidently inspired article of the 'Times,' it seems impossible to resist the conclusion that in the first instance Sir Francis de Winton was empowered to surrender Swazieland to the Transvaal, if it could be done peaceably, and that the indignation excited by the proposed

transaction among the strongest supporters of the Government has compelled them to make the mission one of inquiry only, so that we may hope that no irrevocable surrender will take place before the meeting of Parliament.

A new element has now been introduced into South African politics by the establishment, under a royal charter, of the British South African Company. The first directors or governors will be the Duke of Abercorn, the Duke of Fife, Lord Gifford, Mr. Cecil Rhodes, Mr. Albert Beit, Mr. Albert Henry George Grey, and Mr. George Causton. This company obtains about 380,000 square miles of territory, very much on the same principle as that which directed the formation of the East Indian and Red River Companies. Part of the territory is already known to be auriferous. This is that of Matabeleland, whose chief, Lobengula, was glad to sell his interests for a very moderate sum—100*l.* sterling and 1,000 rifles, with a suitable supply of cartridges. A company under royal charter is in a very different position from that of a company under the Limited Liability Acts. The British South African Company has the right to raise armies, to carry on war, to impose duties of customs and excise, to restrict the traffic in alcoholic drinks, and generally to act as a sovereign power, subject only to the control of her Majesty's Secretary of State. The bargain made with Mr. Cecil Rhodes was apparently so one-sided that questions were asked about it in the House of Lords, but Lord Salisbury said that the concessions of savage and ignorant chieftains to private persons were not to be considered, or revised, or cancelled by the Government. In all probability Lord Salisbury already knew that Mr. Rhodes would not take upon himself the government of Matabeleland, but would seek the help of Great Britain. Accordingly, the royal charter has been given, and it includes a vast area besides Matabeleland. The trade must be either through Bechuanaland or by the river Zambesi. The Portuguese claim authority over both banks of the Zambesi, but they admit that the river is open to all, and no tribute can be asked of any steamer unless it lands at a Portuguese port. But of course the territories of the British South African Com-

pany include much more than Matabeleland. They include the whole of Khama's country, and north to the Zambesi, and west to 20 degrees east longitude, and Mashonaland with undefined limits eastwards. The first aim of the new company must be to have the navigation of the Zambesi secured, and to obtain good terms for the use of any harbours or ports claimed by Portugal.

The Government seems to have come to the conclusion that the safest and cheapest way of extending our Empire is by granting royal charters to private persons or companies. Thus we have the North Borneo Company, the Royal Niger, the English East African, and now the British South African. In a short time there will be little land left in Africa, except the Great Sahara and Kalahari deserts, which is not absorbed by some European power. Tunis and Algeria are French. Tripoli is at present Turkish. Egypt is under the control of England, and Abyssinia of Italy. In South and Central Africa we share the west coast with Portugal, France, and Germany; the east coast and the centre with Portugal and Germany alone. The vast empire of the Sultan of Zanzibar is being, or has been, cut up into slices for European powers, and although Portugal makes enormous claims, its claims are disallowed. One great advantage of the new plan of issuing royal charters to responsible companies is that there is no charge to the country; another is that, unless there should be exceptional mismanagement, neither the Colonial Office nor the Houses of Parliament will have any excuse for interference.

The accounts given of the possessions and prospects of the British South African Company are naturally glowing and full of hope. Even the Kalahari desert is spoken of with respect. It has large oases of good land, and the fertile area might be extended by Artesian wells and irrigation. The text of the charter has been finally settled, the Queen's sign manual was affixed on October 29, and the complete text published in the next 'Gazette.' The definition of the country thus entrusted to the British South African Company is a little vague. The first clause enacts that 'the principal field of the operations of 'the British South Africa Company (in this our charter referred

‘to as the Company) shall be the region of South Africa lying
‘immediately to the north of Bechuanaland, and to the north
‘and west of the South African Republic, and to the west of the
‘Portuguese dominions.’

It appears, therefore, that everything is allowed to the new company, except such districts as have been previously ceded. Article 2 is as follows:—‘The Company is hereby authorised
‘and empowered to hold, use, and retain for the purposes of the
‘Company, and on the terms of this our charter, the full benefit
‘of the concessions and agreements made as aforesaid, so far as
‘they are valid, or any of them, and all interests, authorities, and
‘powers comprised or referred to in the said concessions and
‘agreements. Provided always that nothing herein contained
‘shall prejudice or affect any other valid and subsisting con-
‘cessions or agreements which may have been made by any of
‘the chiefs or tribes aforesaid. And, in particular, nothing
‘herein contained shall prejudice or affect certain concessions
‘granted in and subsequent to the year 1880 relating to the
‘territory usually known as the district of the Tati, nor shall
‘anything herein contained be construed as giving any juris-
‘diction, administrative or otherwise, within the said district
‘of the Tati, the limits of which district are as follows—viz.,
‘from the place where the Shasi river rises to its junction with
‘the Tati and Ramaquaban rivers, thence along the Rama-
‘quaban river to where it rises, and thence along the water-
‘shed of these rivers.’

It seems rather singular that Matabeleland should be considered so rich in gold, and yet that this territory of the Tati, which is a triangular space in the middle of the country, and which we might have expected to be selected as the most likely to be auriferous, should have remained from 1880 to this date without any notice. I do not know of any shares being quoted, nor have I ever met with any one except the solicitors who knew anything of it, and their knowledge was only revealed by their letter to the ‘Times.’ But it is clear that the South African Company, in order to enter upon its full rights, will have to buy out these and some smaller concessionaires. It will then be in

possession of one of the finest territories in Africa. The Mashona country is especially valuable. Mr. Selous, as quoted in the 'Times' of October 15, says that it comprises a tableland of an average of 5,000 feet, clad with forests, the greatest elephant-hunting ground in South Africa, watered by a network of perennial streams, covered with the richest soil, abounding in gold in reefs and in rivers, as well as other minerals, and capable of growing almost every class of agricultural product, from tropical to temperate. It is said to be perfectly adapted for European settlement, and for the labour of white men. A great deal has been said about the sufferings of the Mashonas; but, in fact, they have lately been very little disturbed. When Lobengula became chief of the Matabeles, there were very anxious and eager discussions as to the future policy of the tribe. One party advocated the renewal of the old principle of raiding, robbing, and enslaving wherever they had a chance of success. The other party, moved partly by the efforts of the missionaries and partly by the comforts of peace, were on the side of quietude and civilisation. With this latter party the chief Lobengula agreed. It was successful. Its success is marked by the outcome of the South African Company, which, although it practically extinguishes their independence, will vastly improve the individual comfort both of Mashonas and Matabeles.

There is, nevertheless, a certain element of doubt and difficulty about this company. No doubt it is proclaimed by Article 6 that 'The Company shall always be and remain British ' in character and domicile, and shall have its principal office in ' Great Britain, and the Company's principal representatives in ' South Africa shall always be natural-born or naturalised British ' subjects'; but it is added that this article shall not disqualify any person nominated a director by their own charter, or any person whose election as a director shall have been approved by our Secretary of State from acting in that capacity. But a man may be a British subject, and yet hostile to Great Britain. As a matter of fact, the Duke of Fife, the Duke of Abercorn, and Mr. Albert Grey are Englishmen, and they are not liable to be removed by any election under the deed of settlement, which

must be prepared within twelve months. But they are not in Africa. The result is that the complete management of the company's affairs falls into the hands of Mr. Cecil Rhodes. He is both a British subject and of English birth and education; but he is now an Afrikaner, and is supposed to agree with the aims of the Afrikaner Bund; in other words, to desire the destruction of British power and the substitution of an independent South African Republic. Naturally the deputy governors appointed all belong to the Dutch or Afrikaner party.

The situation is very complicated, and requires—what it will not receive—the highest arts of statesmanship. The German and Portuguese colonies have been proved, so far, to be failures. They cannot pay their way, and seem likely to be a constant drain on the home revenue. For ourselves, we have possessions of all kinds. The Cape Colony has responsible government, which practically means that its Parliament can do whatever it pleases. Natal and part of Bechuanaland and Basutoland are Crown Colonies, but Natal alone has a representative though not a responsible government. Another part of Bechuanaland is a Crown territory, but not a Colony. Then there are the three companies under royal charter, whose operations and privileges I have described. Then there is Swaziland and Zululand and Tonga. Then there is the Transvaal, which has been opened up by British capital, and is already almost our own again, and the Orange Free State, which can make no progress without British aid. Is it not obvious that a different form of government should be devised? It is true that we have a High Commissioner for the conduct of native affairs. But he is the same person as the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope. It is obvious that the government of such a colony as the Cape is sufficient for one man's powers, and that the government of the heterogeneous districts north and west of the Cape require a man of different aptitudes and training.

Besides the various requirements of so many and so diverse countries, we have to deal with a spirit of discontent and rebellion, which has been growing even while this book was being written. I have fully admitted that the colonists had every

reason to complain of the vacillation and frequent rudeness of the Colonial Office. The discontent which had been growing for many years became permanent and violent when Mr. Gladstone suddenly surrendered the Transvaal to the Boers. Since then the dream of a South African Republic has been slowly assuming the shape of a project of rebellion. And the discontent has been intensified by the growth of a belief that slavery is, after all, a wise, beneficent, and even Christian institution. The discoveries of gold have completely turned men's heads. That always happens when gold is found, so we need not wonder at it. More labour is required. With more labour more gold could be produced. More labour is at hand, if the Kaffirs would work continuously. But this is exactly what they refuse to do. The moment they have earned enough to keep them in idleness for three or four months, they go away and remain idle; therefore our output of gold is less than it should be. And not only in gold mining, but in agriculture and all other industries, Kaffir labour is capricious and intermittent. It follows that the Kaffirs must be made to work—that is, that slavery must be re-introduced. The United States have given it up, and their productions have not fallen off. Brazil, the last people of European descent to hold slaves, has abolished the system without appreciable loss. But the Boers and the Dutch-English of South Africa desire to revive it. It is incredible that her Majesty, after a reign of more than fifty years, during which slavery has been abolished in all her dominions, should consent to its revival. It is incredible that men like the Duke of Fife or the Duke of Abercorn should approve of such a system. Indeed, their charter enjoins upon them the duty of putting an end to slavery as quickly as is possible under the various circumstances of their new possessions. It is impossible that the countrymen of Clarkson and Wilberforce can sanction a revival of such an institution. And because the Afrikanders see that these things are impossible, they propose to join the Boers, and to proclaim their independence as an independent slave-holding South African Republic. They seem to forget that without the protection of Great Britain they would be liable to

be conquered any day by Germany or France, and that their last estate would then be worse than the first. But I think that we have learned something during the last century, and that we shall not part with our colonies at the first cry of discontent. Mr. Gladstone is not now Prime Minister.

The Germans have now two emissaries in South Africa, and two companies, and it is a singular circumstance that one of the emissaries and one of the companies receives little favour at the hands of Prince Bismarck. Dr. Carl Peters was supposed, at first, to start for the relief of Emin Pasha with the full approval of the German Government. But it appears that this approval has been withdrawn. The semi-official 'North German Gazette' says on August 29:—'It is now quite clear that the Imperial Government is strongly opposed to this expedition; mainly, it would seem, as being calculated to impair the cordial relations now existing between Germany and England.' Prince Bismarck will hear nothing of it. Since that time the Witu expedition has been on the verge of absolute starvation. Dr. Carl Peters and his attendants would actually have starved but for the assistance of a private firm. The whole enterprise is on the point of collapsing. The 'North German Gazette' said recently:—'The object of the Emin expedition is opposed to the empire's colonial policy, and for that reason the Government can have no sympathy with it. The expedition, moreover, has nothing in common with Captain Wissman's mission, but on the contrary is detrimental thereto.' The following is a part of Prince Bismarck's reply to the Emin Pasha Relief Committee, dated August 15, 1888:—'I regret that I cannot hold out any prospect of an Imperial subsidy to the contemplated expedition, as the means which are at our disposal in our budget for the current year for the promotion of African undertakings have already been appropriated to the opening up of our protectorates; and, therefore, the proposal to grant Government aid for a magnanimous aim, but one that is outside of our colonial interests, would not meet with success in the Reichstag.' Accordingly Dr. Peters and the Witu Company have been left to shift for themselves, with the result that

the undertaking is utterly bankrupt, and must be immediately abandoned. When compared with the bombastic threats and loud boastings of the Doctor and his supporter, the 'Cologne Gazette,' the result is unfortunate.

A general meeting of the Witu Company was held in Berlin on September 30, when its affairs were found to be in a very hopeless condition. And since Prince Bismarck refused to subsidise the company, or to pay for a regular line of steamers, it was generally thought that liquidation would be the necessary result. The organ of the Emin Pasha Relief Committee in Berlin could scarcely accept the situation. At the end of September it refused to believe the reports that Mr. Stanley is now rapidly approaching the Zanzibar coast, and that he had advised Emin Pasha to take service under the British East African Company. It seems probable, however, that both reports are substantially true.

On the other hand, Captain Wissman appears to be a *persona grata* with the Imperial Chancellor. He is the Imperial Commissioner for South Africa, and appears to have succeeded in imparting some vitality to the German East African Company. In September last he brought to the coast a large caravan containing great quantities of ivory, and a large number of cattle. Nevertheless, he must be a somewhat expensive agent, for he is constantly at war, and requires the support of a large number of soldiers. He is, however, free from the fanatical hatred of Great Britain which animates Dr. Carl Peters, and works cordially with us. A Foreign Office *communiqué* to the 'North German Gazette' at the end of last August says:—'The present extent of the German possessions in West and East Africa is more than two and a half millions of square kilometres, or about five times the size of the German Empire itself, and that is quite enough for her to assimilate and rule in the meantime.' It must be remembered, however, that a great part of this vast area is occupied by Namaqualand on the west coast, and that this country is sandy, sterile, and comparatively worthless. Among other matters of interest in East Africa, I may notice that some Germans disputed our claim to Lamu,

although we have already occupied it. The question was referred to Baron Lambermont, who decided in our favour, and this is the first instance that I can recollect of a foreign arbitrator giving his award on the side of Great Britain.

In the meantime Captain Wissman continues to govern the German East African territories, and carries on trade with great skill and energy. At the same time he continues his crusade against the slave-trade. In the first instance, he persuaded England and Italy to join Germany in enforcing a blockade of the coast for the suppression of the trade. This, however, was raised on October 2, for Captain Wissman thought he had discovered a better method. He hanged or shot six or seven of the worst slave raiders, and gave the black people to understand that if they do not at once give up Arabs convicted of man-stealing they will be treated as accomplices, and hanged or shot accordingly. This drastic treatment he declares to have been effectual, and boasts that no Arab dares now to kidnap a single slave in the territory under his charge. At the same time, towards the end of September last, the Sultan of Zanzibar issued a proclamation giving the right to search all Arab dhows to the forces of England and Germany. He also notified that all slaves entering his territory after November 1 should be at once made free. This energetic action is attributed to the efforts of Mr. Portal and General Mathews, the commander-in-chief of the Sultan's forces. These strenuous efforts on the part of Captain Wissman, and his success in trading, have obtained the approval of the German Government, and have now reaped a substantial reward. After long refusing any pecuniary help to the German East African Company, Prince Bismarck has at last consented to submit a Bill to the Federal Council for subsidising a line of steamers to East Africa. It is proposed that the vessels shall leave Hamburg once a month. They are expected to touch at Antwerp and Lisbon, as well as at other ports besides Zanzibar on the coast of East Africa. The imperial subvention is expected to amount to 900,000 marks, or about 45,000*l*.

But although Captain Wissman's convoy of ivory and other

goods has been accepted as a proof of success, and secured for his adventure the subsidy of 45,000*l.*, there are elements of weakness, or rather probabilities of failure, in his policy. Like his master, Prince Bismarck, no policy recommends itself to him but that of 'blood and iron.' From the day he set foot upon the land there has been perpetual warfare. So irritated have been the native tribes that they have even attacked English mission stations, murdered missionaries and their families, spoiled our Christian and charitable work of twenty years, all because they had not yet learned the difference between an English missionary and a German freebooter. In the same way the Indian traders have been driven away from the country which the treaty of 1886 allowed to be within the 'German sphere of influence.' Captain Wissman boasts that he has hanged some Arab slave-dealers; but it would be interesting to know whether his ivory and other goods were obtained by free purchase, and carried to the coast by paid and free labour. Nor has he been conspicuously fortunate in financial matters. The *Morning Post* of October 26 has the following passage:—'The German East African Company appears to be financially in a most deplorable condition. It has a paid-up capital of a little over 3,000,000 marks, and up to the present its operations have resulted in the loss of just over two-thirds of that capital. The official report sets down the losses last year at 360,000 marks, which, added to previous deficits, make up a total of 2,034,000 marks up to December 31, 1888.' Even then a very doubtful asset is included in the credits. It is not easy to suppose that Captain Wissman will make good his claim of 208,000 marks upon the Sultan of Zanzibar. The only ground for the claim is that the Germans have had to do a little fighting against the natives over whom Germany had claimed authority. It is rather a pretty stroke of business to rob the Sultan of his property, and then bring in a bill for the costs of making war on his subjects. If this is a bad debt, the loss is 2,242,000 marks, or, in English money, a capital of 150,000*l.* has been reduced to 38,000*l.* The subvention I have referred to may keep things going for a time, but it is very probable that

the German East African Company will follow the lead of the German West African Company, and get what it can by a sale to an English company, still, of course, in each case preserving the sovereignty of Germany, and only parting with all the available property and assets. In fact, both Samoa and Africa prove that the Germans have not yet learned to govern uncivilised nations, or to trade profitably with them.

In South-West Africa, where Germany suddenly seized upon Namaqualand to which England laid claim, the company formed has been less successful. It has repeatedly applied to Prince Bismarck for a subsidy, a regular line of steamers and so forth, but hitherto with no better results than Dr. Carl Peters can boast of. It now appears (October 15) that negotiations are being carried on with a view to the sale of the German South-West African Company's possessions to an English company. The proposal, we are assured by the German press, does not involve the forfeiture of the rights of the German protectorate in those regions, but merely the transfer of private interests. That is to say, the English would be the owners of all the land and property, would carry on all the trade, and would provide the revenue, but the Germans would be the sovereign power and fix the duties on customs and excise, and make all the laws. This is rather too like the state of things in the Transvaal to be tempting, and an English company, if it should purchase the place, which appears to be of no great value, will do well to insist upon the acquisition of full territorial rights.

The last scene of all in this 'strange eventful history' is the despatch of an influential deputation by the Sultan of Zanzibar to the Governments of Europe. The embassy has been received with much effusion in Berlin. Reviews of troops have been held, sufficient to give some idea of the military power of Germany. Operas and theatres and other kinds of entertainment have been freely opened to the visitors, and jewels and other precious gifts have accompanied their departure. Before these pages are published the embassy will have travelled to nearly every capital in Europe. What their mission may be

has not yet transpired, but if it be to ascertain what European country would be most suitable for a permanent alliance, it may be hoped that the people of Zanzibar may learn something about the wealth, the commerce, and the naval strength of Great Britain, and, above all, that any arrangements made may be in a permanent form, and not liable to be discarded the moment a new Ministry comes into power.

NOTE.—Since the above chapter was written Umbandine has died, and is succeeded by his son ; but the arguments are not affected by this change. It is also reported that Dr. Carl Peters and the whole of his party have been massacred either by the Massai tribe or the Somalis. It will be remembered that this Dr. Carl Peters was one of the most virulent and bitter Anglo-phobists ever known. He was backed up by the 'Cologne Gazette,' and the articles of that paper, and the letters of Dr. Peters contain little else than abuse of England. As a blind to his real designs, he pretended to be employed on a mission to relieve Emin Pasha. As a matter of fact, he never got more than four days' journey from the coast, and the relief of Emin was accomplished by Mr. Stanley. The real design of Dr. Carl Peters was to drive the English from equatorial Africa. He was for some time patronised and assisted by Prince Bismarck, but all assistance has lately been withdrawn. The real aim of Peters was to establish a system of German trading ports round the south and west of Lake Victoria, in a territory just to the north of that held by the British East Africa Company. The collapse of this enterprise may probably bring English subjects to Khartoum from the south ; and even yet Gordon's death may be avenged, although not by the British Government. There is a large population round Lake Victoria and the other great lakes ; and it seems likely that the British East Africa Company will soon be carrying on a large and increasing trade.

CONCLUSION

WHILE these pages were being printed the farewell speech of Sir Hercules Robinson to the people of the Cape Colony was telegraphed to England. Sir Hercules evidently hoped for re-appointment for another eight years, but happily his expectation has been disappointed. Since he has pronounced against the Empire, and even against its Colonial system, and declared in favour of Republicanism, Lord Salisbury and Lord Knutsford have declined to employ him again in South Africa. This habit with some of our pro-consuls of listening favourably to any party of malcontents has of late been seriously growing. When Mr. Gladstone was High Commissioner for the Ionian Islands he was converted to disunion by a small but noisy party of malcontents, and he succeeded in depriving this country of a valuable possession, without earning the gratitude of the inhabitants of Zante and Cephallonia. Sir John Pope Hennessy has annoyed and disgusted the English people in the Mauritius, and has only been allowed to complete his term of office under a solemn promise of better behaviour. The Marquis of Ripon in India and Earl Spencer in Ireland are further examples of the same failing. But perhaps Sir Hercules Robinson is the most conspicuous as he is the latest specimen of the faithless servant. Sent out eight years ago, not only as Governor of the Cape but as High Commissioner of her Majesty's possessions in South Africa, he makes a farewell speech to the Cape Colonists in which he practically advises them to aim at becoming a Republic and assuming the control of South and Central Africa.

Sir Hercules does not in so many words advocate slavery, but, if we read between the lines, we may see that he has become a convert to the Boer doctrine of enforced labour. In

contrasting the claims and prospects of Colonialism with Republicanism he says that 'British Colonialism is very heavily 'handicapped by the well-meant, but mistaken, interference of 'irresponsible and ill-informed persons in England. The tendency of such amateur meddling, to my mind, is injurious in 'the long run to the natives, whilst it makes every resident in 'the Republics, English as well as Dutch, rejoice in their independence, and converts many a Colonist from an Imperialist 'into a Republican.' This obviously means that England continues to object to slavery, and that the Cape colonists desire it.

There is no point in which Great Britain interferes with the self-government of the Cape Colony unless it be this of the treatment of the native races, and the desire of the Cape Colonists for Republicanism, which Sir Hercules Robinson records and commends, can therefore only mean a desire to manage the coloured races as they please, and as the existing Republics do manage them. The laws of the Transvaal which I have quoted prove that the Republics do treat the coloured races as practically bound to perpetual servitude, and I have shown that this treatment has been justified in the Cape Parliament by an appeal to Holy Scripture. Republicanism in South Africa means enforced labour, and a fixed rule that no coloured person shall have the same treatment as a white person; and, because the 'well-meaning but ill-informed people in England' take a different view, Sir Hercules Robinson advises the surrender of the Colonial relation and the adoption of Republicanism.

'As to Imperialism,' Sir Hercules says, 'it is a diminishing quantity. With responsible government in the Cape, with Natal 'soon likely to attain that status, with the independent Republics 'of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal, with Germany on 'the West Coast and Portugal on the East, the idea of the permanent presence of the Imperial factor in the interior—of a South 'African India in the Kalahari—is simply an absurdity. The "Governor-General in embryo," of whom we have heard, who is 'to administer as in India a system of personal as distinguished 'from Parliamentary rule, will, I venture to think, remain 'permanently "in embryo." All the Imperial Government can

'now do in South Africa is by means of spheres of influence, 'protectorates and Crown Colonies to gradually prepare the way 'for handing over native territories to the Cape and Natal so 'soon as such transfers can be made with justice to the natives 'and advantage to all concerned.' To all which I may reply that Natal has not yet received 'responsible government' and I hope it will be long before it is granted; that the Transvaal is still a dependency of the British Crown; that Germany is heartily sick of its South African colonies, and Portugal finds her possessions in that continent a heavy strain on her resources. But besides that, we must observe that there are immense and populous territories to which no European Power, except ourselves, has any claim. Bechuanaland, Damaraland, Matabeleland, and the other countries up to the great lakes lie, for the present, open to English influence. The idea of handing over the control of these territories to the Cape Government is simply childish or unpatriotic. But Sir Hercules Robinson does not expect that the Cape Colony should become a Republic and an Empire all at once. It is reserved *for us* to do all the work and spend all the money, and when the native territories are under good order and have become thriving communities they must forthwith be handed over to the Cape and Natal. He advocates 'Colonial expansion through Imperial aid, the 'Home Government doing what the Colonies cannot do for 'themselves, having constitutionally no authority beyond 'their borders.' But surely it is obvious that, if the Cape Colony and Natal received such authority, they are utterly incapable of governing these great countries and millions of coloured people. Bechuanaland has been annexed, partly as a Crown Colony and partly as a protectorate. It is to be hoped that it may soon be completely a Crown Colony. Sir Hercules boasts that his influence led to the annexation, but that he wished it to be annexed to the Cape Colony. He thought that the Cape was 'bound in honour at the earliest 'convenient moment to relieve the British taxpayer of an 'expenditure undertaken almost entirely in the interests of the 'Colony. But if John Bull chooses to bear the expenses of

‘improving a territory which must, sooner or later, revert to the Cape, the good people of the Cape Colony will assuredly not object.’ In point of fact the proposal made by Sir Hercules Robinson to annex Bechuanaland to the Cape met with instant and strenuous opposition, and was at once rejected by the British Government. This policy of allowing Great Britain to reduce to order and partially civilise a native race and then to hand over its administration to the Cape has been tried, as I have shown already, in the case of Basutoland. That country was rescued from anarchy and made prosperous by Imperial rule, and then handed over to the Cape. Its prosperity immediately vanished, and after a few years, at the urgent request of the Cape Parliament, we resumed our control, and prosperity reappeared. If the Cape Government failed to manage a small country like this, almost within its own borders, how could it succeed with vast territories at a great distance and more exclusively occupied by native races? Sir Hercules Robinson must learn to believe that the Cape of Good Hope is a colony, and not an Empire, nor even a Republic, and if its Government and our own Government are not afflicted with madness, a colony it will remain.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

CONVENTION FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF THE TRANSVAAL TERRITORY¹

PREAMBLE. Her Majesty's Commissioners for the Settlement of the Transvaal territory, duly appointed as such by a Commission passed under the Royal Sign Manual and Signet, bearing date the 5th of April 1881, do hereby undertake and guarantee on behalf of her Majesty that, from and after the 8th day of August 1881, complete self-government, subject to the suzerainty of her Majesty, her heirs and successors, will be accorded to the inhabitants of the Transvaal territory, upon the following terms and conditions, and subject to the following reservations and limitations :—

Article 1. The said territory, to be herein-after called the Transvaal State, will embrace the land lying between the following boundaries, to wit: Here follow three pages in print defining boundaries.

Article 2. Her Majesty reserves to herself, her heirs and successors, (a) the right from time to time to appoint a British Resident in and for the said State, with such duties and functions as are herein-after defined; (b) the right to move troops through the said State in time of war, or in case of the apprehension of immediate war between the Suzerain Power and any Foreign State or Native Tribe in South Africa; and (c) the control of the external relations of the said State, including the conclusion of treaties and the conduct of diplomatic intercourse with Foreign Powers, such

¹ This Paper, containing the Articles of the Convention as telegraphed from time to time by the Royal Commission, is believed to be complete; but until a certified copy of the Convention as actually signed has been received its absolute accuracy cannot be guaranteed.

intercourse to be carried on through her Majesty's diplomatic and consular officers abroad.

Article 3. Until altered by the Volksraad, or other competent authority, all laws, whether passed before or after the annexation of the Transvaal territory to her Majesty's dominions, shall, except in so far as they are inconsistent with or repugnant to the provisions of this Convention, be and remain in force in the said State in so far as they shall be applicable thereto, provided that no future enactment especially affecting the interest of natives shall have any force or effect in the said State, without the consent of her Majesty, her heirs and successors, first had and obtained and signified to the Government of the said State through the British Resident, provided further that in no case will the repeal or amendment of any laws enacted since the annexation have a retrospective effect, so as to invalidate any acts done or liabilities incurred by virtue of such laws.

Article 4. On the 8th day of August 1881, the Government of the said State, together with all rights and obligations thereto appertaining, and all State property taken over at the time of annexation, save and except munitions of war, will be handed over to Messrs. Stephanus Johannes Paulus Kruger, Martinus Wessel Pretorius, and Petrus Jacobus Joubert, or the survivor or survivors of them, who will forthwith cause a Volksraad to be elected and convened, and the Volksraad, thus elected and convened, will decide as to the further administration of the Government of the said State.

Article 5. All sentences passed upon persons who may be convicted of offences contrary to the rules of civilized warfare committed during the recent hostilities will be duly carried out, and no alteration or mitigation of such sentences will be made or allowed by the Government of the Transvaal State without her Majesty's consent conveyed through the British Resident. In case there shall be any prisoners in any of the gaols of the Transvaal State whose respective sentences of imprisonment have been remitted in part by her Majesty's Administrator or other officer administering the Government, such remission will be recognized and acted upon by the future Government of the said State.

Article 6. Her Majesty's Government will make due compensation for all losses or damage sustained by reason of such acts as are in the 8th Article herein-after specified, which may have been committed by her Majesty's forces during the recent hostilities, except for such losses or damage as may already have been com-

pensated for, and the Government of the Transvaal State will make due compensation for all losses or damage sustained by reason of such acts as are in the 8th Article herein-after specified which may have been committed by the people who were in arms against her Majesty during the recent hostilities, except for such losses or damages as may already have been compensated for.

Article 7. The decision of all claims for compensation, as in the last preceding Article mentioned, will be referred to a Sub-Commission, consisting of the Honourable George Hudson, the Honourable Jacobus Petrus de Wet, and the Honourable John Gilbert Kotzé. In case one or more of such Sub-Commissioners shall be unable or unwilling to act the remaining Sub-commissioner or Sub-Commissioners will, after consultation with the Government of the Transvaal State, submit for the approval of her Majesty's High Commissioners the names of one or more persons to be appointed by them to fill the place or places thus vacated. The decision of the said Sub-Commissioners, or of a majority of them, will be final. The said Sub-Commissioners will enter upon and perform their duties with all convenient speed. They will, before taking evidence or ordering evidence to be taken in respect of any claim, decide whether such claim can be entertained at all under the rules laid down in the next succeeding Article. In regard to claims which can be so entertained, the Sub-Commissioners will, in the first instance, afford every facility for an amicable arrangement as to the amount payable in respect of any claim, and only in cases in which there is no reasonable ground for believing that an immediate amicable arrangement can be arrived at will they take evidence or order evidence to be taken. For the purpose of taking evidence and reporting thereon, the Sub-Commissioners may appoint Deputies, who will, without delay, submit records of the evidence and their reports to the Sub-Commissioners. The Sub-Commissioners will arrange their sittings and the sittings of their Deputies in such a manner as to afford the earliest convenience to the parties concerned and their witnesses. In no case will costs be allowed to either side, other than the actual and reasonable expenses of witnesses whose evidence is certified by the Sub-Commissioners to have been necessary. Interest will not run on the amount of any claim, except as herein-after provided for. The said Sub-Commissioners will forthwith, after deciding upon any claim, announce their decision to the Government against which the award is made and to the claimant. The amount of remuneration payable to the Sub-Commissioners and their Deputies will be determined by the High

Commissioners. After all the claims have been decided upon, the British Government and the Government of the Transvaal State will pay proportionate shares of the said remuneration and of the expenses of the Sub-Commissioners and their Deputies, according to the amount awarded against them respectively.

Article 8. For the purpose of distinguishing claims to be accepted from those to be rejected, the Sub-Commissioners will be guided by the following rules, viz.:—Compensation will be allowed for losses or damage sustained by reason of the following acts committed during the recent hostilities, viz., (a) commandeering, seizure, confiscation, or destruction of property, or damage done to property; (b) violence done or threats used by persons in arms. In regard to acts under (a), compensation will be allowed for direct losses only. In regard to acts falling under (b), compensation will be allowed for actual losses of property, or actual injury to the same proved to have been caused by its enforced abandonment. No claims for indirect losses, except such as are in this Article specially provided for will be entertained. No claims which have been handed in to the Secretary of the Royal Commission after the 1st day of July 1881 will be entertained, unless the Sub-Commissioners shall be satisfied that the delay was reasonable. When claims for loss of property are considered, the Sub-Commissioners will require distinct proof of the existence of the property, and that it neither has reverted nor will revert to the claimant.

Article 9. The Government of the Transvaal State will pay and satisfy the amount of every claim awarded against it within one month after the Sub-Commissioners shall have notified their decision to the said Government, and in default of such payment the said Government will pay interest at the rate of six per cent. per annum from the date of such default; but her Majesty's Government may at any time before such payment pay the amount, with interest, if any, to the claimant in satisfaction of his claim, and may add the sum thus paid to any debt which may be due by the Transvaal State to her Majesty's Government, as herein-after provided for.

Article 10. The Transvaal State will be liable for the balance of the debts for which the South African Republic was liable at the date of annexation, to wit, the sum of 48,000*l.* in respect of the Cape Commercial Bank Loan, and 85,667*l.* in respect to the Railway Loan, together with the amount due on 8th August 1881 on account of the Orphan Chamber Debt, which now stands at 22,200*l.*, which debts will be a first charge upon the revenues of the State. The Transvaal State will, moreover, be liable for the lawful expenditure

lawfully incurred for the necessary expenses of the Province since the annexation, to wit, the sum of 265,000*l.*, which debt, together with such debts as may be incurred by virtue of the 9th Article, will be second charge upon the revenues of the State.

Article 11. The debts due as aforesaid by the Transvaal State to her Majesty's Government will bear interest at the rate of three and a half per cent., and any portion of such debt as may remain unpaid at the expiration of twelve months from the 8th August 1881 shall be repayable by a payment for interest and sinking fund of six pounds and ninepence per cent. per annum, which will extinguish the debt in twenty-five years. The said payment of six pounds and ninepence per 100*l.* shall be payable half yearly in British currency on the 8th February and 8th August in each year. Provided always, that the Transvaal State shall pay in reduction of the said debt the sum of 100,000*l.* within twelve months of the 8th August 1881, and shall be at liberty at the close of any half year to pay off the whole or any portion of the outstanding debt.

Article 12. All persons holding property in the said State on the 8th day of August 1881 will continue after the said date to enjoy the rights of property which they have enjoyed since the annexation. No person who has remained loyal to her Majesty during the recent hostilities shall suffer any molestation by reason of his loyalty, or be liable to any criminal prosecution or civil action for any part taken in connection with such hostilities, and all such persons will have full liberty to reside in the country, with enjoyment of all civil rights, and protection for their persons and property.

Article 13. Natives will be allowed to acquire land, but the grant or transfer of such land will, in every case, be made to and registered in the name of the Native Location Commission, hereinafter mentioned, in trust for such natives.

Article 14. Natives will be allowed to move as freely within the country as may be consistent with the requirements of public order, and to leave it for the purpose of seeking employment elsewhere or for other lawful purposes, subject always to the pass laws of the said State, as amended by the Legislature of the Province, or as may hereafter be enacted under the provisions of the Third Article of this Convention.

Article 15. There will continue to be complete freedom of religion and protection from molestation for all denominations, provided the same be not inconsistent with morality and good order, and no disability shall attach to any person in regard to

rights of property by reason of the religious opinions which he holds.

Article 16. The provisions of the Fourth Article of the Sand River Convention are hereby reaffirmed, and no slavery or apprenticeship partaking of slavery will be tolerated by the Government of the said State.

Article 17. The British Resident will receive from the Government of the Transvaal State such assistance and support as can by law be given to him for the due discharge of his functions; he will also receive every assistance for the proper care and preservation of the graves of such of her Majesty's forces as have died in the Transvaal, and if need be for the expropriation of land for the purpose.

Article 18. The following will be the duties and functions of the British Resident:—Sub-section 1, he will perform duties and functions analogous to those discharged by a *Chargé d'Affaires* and Consul-General.

Sub-section 2. In regard to natives within the Transvaal State he will (*a*) report to the High Commissioner, as representative of the Suzerain, as to the working and observance of the provisions of this Convention; (*b*) report to the Transvaal authorities any cases of ill-treatment of natives or attempts to incite natives to rebellion that may come to his knowledge; (*c*) use his influence with the natives in favour of law and order; and (*d*) generally perform such other duties as are by this Convention entrusted to him, and take such steps for the protection of the person and property of natives as are consistent with the laws of the land.

Sub-section 3. In regard to natives not residing in the Transvaal (*a*) he will report to the High Commissioner and the Transvaal Government any encroachments reported to him as having been made by Transvaal residents upon the land of such natives, and in case of disagreement between the Transvaal Government and the British Resident as to whether an encroachment had been made, the decision of the Suzerain will be final; (*b*) the British Resident will be the medium of communication with native chiefs outside the Transvaal, and, subject to the approval of the High Commissioner, as representing the Suzerain, he will control the conclusion of treaties with them; and (*c*) he will arbitrate upon every dispute between Transvaal residents and natives outside the Transvaal (as to acts committed beyond the boundaries of the Transvaal) which may be referred to him by the parties interested.

Sub-section 4. In regard to communications with foreign powers, the Transvaal Government will correspond with her

Majesty's Government through the British Resident and the High Commissioner.

Article 19. The Government of the Transvaal State will strictly adhere to the boundaries defined in the First Article of this Convention, and will do its utmost to prevent any of its inhabitants from making an encroachment upon lands beyond the said State. The Royal Commission will forthwith appoint a person who will beacon off the boundary line between Ramatlabama and the point where such line first touches Griqualand West boundary, midway between the Vaal and Hart rivers; the person so appointed will be instructed to make an arrangement between the owners of the farms Grootfontein and Valleifontein on the one hand, and the Barolong authorities on the other, by which a fair share of the water supply of the said farms shall be allowed to flow undisturbed to the said Barolongs.

Article 20. All grants or titles issued at any time by the Transvaal Government in respect of land outside the boundary of Transvaal State, as defined, Article 1, shall be considered invalid and of no effect, except in so far as any such grant or title relates to land that falls within the boundary of the Transvaal State, and all persons holding any such grant so considered invalid and of no effect, will receive from the Government of the Transvaal State such compensation either in land or in money as the Volksraad shall determine. In all cases in which any native chiefs or other authorities outside the said boundaries have received any adequate consideration from the Government of the former South African Republic for land excluded from the Transvaal by the First Article of this Convention, or where permanent improvements have been made on the land, the British Resident will, subject to the approval of the High Commissioner, use his influence to recover from the native authorities fair compensation for the loss of the land thus excluded, and of the permanent improvement thereon.

Article 21. Forthwith, after the taking effect of this Convention, a Native Location Commission will be constituted, consisting of the President, or in his absence the Vice-President of the State, or some one deputed by him, the Resident, or some one deputed by him, and a third person to be agreed upon by the President or the Vice-President, as the case may be, and the Resident, and such Commission will be a standing body for the performance of the duties herein-after mentioned.

Article 22. The Native Location Commission will reserve to the native tribes of the State such locations as they may be fairly

and equitably entitled to, due regard being had to the actual occupation of such tribes. The Native Location Commission will clearly define the boundaries of such locations, and for that purpose will, in every instance, first of all ascertain the wishes of the parties interested in such land. In case land already granted in individual titles shall be required for the purpose of any location, the owners will receive such compensation either in other land or in money as the Volksraad shall determine. After the boundaries of any location have been fixed, no fresh grant of land within such location will be made, nor will the boundaries be altered without the consent of the Location Commission. No fresh grants of land will be made in the districts of Waterberg, Zoutpansberg, and Lydenburg until the locations in the said districts respectively shall have been defined by the said Commission.

Article 23. If not released before the taking effect of this Convention, Sikukuni, and those of his followers who have been imprisoned with him, will be forthwith released, and the boundaries of his location will be defined by the Native Location Commission in the manner indicated in the last preceding Article.

Article 24. The independence of the Swazies within the boundary line of Swaziland, as indicated in the First Article of this Convention, will be fully recognised.

Article 25. No other or higher duties will be imposed on the importation into the Transvaal State of any article the produce or manufacture of the dominions and possessions of her Majesty, from whatever place arriving, than are or may be payable on the like article the produce or manufacture of any other country, nor will any prohibition be maintained or imposed on the importation of any article the produce or manufacture of the dominions and possessions of her Majesty, which shall not equally extend to the importation of the like articles being the produce or manufacture of any other country.

Article 26. All persons other than natives conforming themselves to the laws of the Transvaal State (a) will have full liberty with their families to enter, travel, or reside in any part of the Transvaal State ; (b) they will be entitled to hire or possess houses, manufactures, warehouses, shops, and premises ; (c) they may carry on their commerce either in person or by any agents whom they may think to employ ; (d) they will not be subject in respect of their persons or property, or in respect of their commerce or industry to any taxes, whether general or local, other than those which are or may be imposed upon Transvaal citizens.

Article 27. All inhabitants of the Transvaal shall have free access to the Courts of Justice for the protection and defence of their rights.

Article 28. All persons other than natives who established their domicile in the Transvaal between the 12th day of April 1877 and the date when this Convention comes into effect, and who shall within twelve months after such last-mentioned date have their names registered by the British Resident, shall be exempt from all compulsory military service whatever. The Resident shall notify such registration to the Government of the Transvaal State.

Article 29. Provision shall hereafter be made by a separate instrument for the mutual extradition of criminals, and also for the surrender of deserters from her Majesty's forces.

Article 30. All debts contracted since the annexation will be payable in the same currency in which they may have been contracted ; all uncanceled postage and other revenue stamps issued by the Government since the annexation will remain valid, and will be accepted at their present value by the future Government of the State ; all licenses duly issued since the annexation will remain in force during the period for which they may have been issued.

Article 31. No grants of land which may have been made, and no transfer of mortgage which may have been passed since the annexation, will be invalidated by reason merely of their having been made or passed since that date. All transfers to the British Secretary for Native Affairs in trust for natives will remain in force, the Native Location Commission taking the place of such Secretary for Native Affairs.

Article 32. This Convention will be ratified by a newly-elected Volksraad within the period of three months after its execution, and in default of such ratification this Convention shall be null and void.

Article 33. Forthwith, after the ratification of this Convention, as in the last preceding Article mentioned, all British troops in Transvaal territory will leave the same, and the mutual delivery of munitions of war will be carried out. Articles end. Here will follow signatures of Royal Commissioners, then the following to precede signatures of triumvirate.

We, the undersigned, Stephanus Johannes Paulus Kruger, Martinus Wessel Pretorius, and Petrus Jacobus Joubert, as representatives of the Transvaal Burghers, do hereby agree to all the above conditions, reservations, and limitations under which self-government has been restored to the inhabitants of the Transvaal territory,

subject to the suzerainty of her Majesty, her heirs and successors, and we agree to accept the Government of the said territory, with all rights and obligations thereto appertaining, on the 8th day of August ; and we promise and undertake that this Convention shall be ratified by a newly-elected Volksraad of the Transvaal State within three months from this date.

APPENDIX B

A CONVENTION BETWEEN HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC

WHEREAS the Government of the Transvaal State, through its Delegates, consisting of Stephanus Johannes Paulus Kruger, President of the said State, Stephanus Jacobus Du Toit, Superintendent of Education, and Nicholas Jacobus Smit, a member of the Volksraad, have represented that the Convention signed at Pretoria on the 3rd day of August, 1881, and ratified by the Volksraad of the said State on the 25th October, 1881, contains certain provisions which are inconvenient, and imposes burdens and obligations from which the said State is desirous to be relieved, and that the south-western boundaries fixed by the said Convention should be amended, with a view to promote the peace and good order of the said State, and of the countries adjacent thereto ; and whereas Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland has been pleased to take the said representations into consideration : Now, therefore, Her Majesty has been pleased to direct, and it is hereby declared that the following articles of a New Convention, signed on behalf of Her Majesty by Her Majesty's High Commissioner in South Africa, the Right Honourable Sir Hercules George Robert Robinson, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Governor of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, and on behalf of the Transvaal State (which shall herein-after be called the South African Republic) by the above-named Delegates, Stephanus Johannes Paulus Kruger, Stephanus Jacobus Du Toit, and Nicholas Jacobus Smit, shall, when ratified by the Volksraad of the South African Republic, be substi-

tuted for the articles embodied in the Convention of 3rd August, 1881 ; which latter, pending such ratification, shall continue in full force and effect.

ARTICLES.

Article 1. The Territory of the South African Republic will embrace the land lying between the following boundaries, to wit :

Beginning from the point where the north-eastern boundary line of Griqualand West meets the Vaal River, up the course of the Vaal River to the point of junction with it of the Klip River ; thence up the course of the Klip River to the point of junction with it of the stream called Gansvlei ; thence up the Gansvlei stream to its source in the Drakensberg ; thence to a beacon in the boundary of Natal, situated immediately opposite and close to the source of the Gansvlei stream ; thence in a north-easterly direction along the ridge of the Drakensberg, dividing the waters flowing into the Gansvlei stream from the waters flowing into the sources of the Buffalo, to a beacon on a point where this mountain ceases to be a continuous chain ; thence to a beacon on a plain to the north-east of the last-described beacon ; thence to the nearest source of a small stream called 'Division Stream' ; thence down this division stream, which forms the southern boundary of the farm Sandfontein, the property of Messrs. Meek, to its junction with the Coldstream ; thence down the Coldstream to its junction with the Buffalo or Umzinyati River ; thence down the course of the Buffalo River to the junction with it of the Blood River ; thence up the course of the Blood River to the junction with it of Lyn Spruit or Dudusi ; thence up the Dudusi to its source ; thence 80 yards to Bea. I., situated on a spur of the N'Qaba-Ka-hawana Mountains ; thence 80 yards to the N'Sonto River ; thence down the N'Sonto River to its junction with the White Umvulozi River ; thence up the White Umvulozi River to a white rock where it rises ; thence 800 yards to Kambula Hill (Bea. II.) ; thence to the source of the Pemvana River, where the road from Kambula Camp to Burgers' Lager crosses ; thence down the Pemvana River to its junction with the Bivana River ; thence down the Bivana River to its junction with the Pongolo River ; thence down the Pongolo River to where it passes through the Libombo Range ; thence along the summits of the Libombo Range to the northern point of the N'Yawos Hill in that range (Bea. XVI.) ; thence to the northern peak of the Inkwakweni Hills (Bea. XV.) ;

thence to Sefunda, a rocky knoll detached from and to the north-east end of the White Koppies, and to the south of the Musana River (Bea. XIV.); thence to a point on the slope near the crest of Matanjeni, which is the name given to the south-eastern portion of the Mahamba Hills (Bea. XIII.); thence to the N'gwangwana, a double-pointed hill (one point is bare, the other wooded, the beacon being on the former), on the left bank of the Assegai River and upstream of the Dadusa Spruit (Bea. XII.); thence to the southern point of Bendita, a rocky knoll in a plain between the Little Hlozane and Assegai Rivers (Bea. XI.); thence to the highest point of Suluka Hill, round the eastern slopes of which flows the Little Hlozane, also called Ludaka or Mudspruit (Bea. X.); thence to the beacon known as 'Viljoen's,' or N'Duko Hill; thence to a point north-east of Derby House, known as Magwazidili's Beacon; thence to the Igaba, a small knoll on the Ungwempisi River, also called 'Joubert's Beacon,' and known to the natives as 'Piet's Beacon' (Bea. IX.); thence to the highest point of the N'Dhlovudwalili or Houtbosch, a hill on the northern bank of the Umqwempisi River (Bea. VIII.); thence to a beacon on the only flat-topped rock, about 10 feet high and about 30 yards in circumference at its base, situated on the south side of the Lamsamane range of hills, and overlooking the valley of the great Usuto River; this rock being 45 yards north of the road from Camden and Lake Banagher to the forests on the Usuto River (sometimes called Sandhlanas Beacon) (Bea. VII.); thence to the Gulungwana or Ibubulundi, four smooth bare hills, the highest in that neighbourhood, situated to the south of the Umtuli River (Bea. VI.); thence to a flat-topped rock, 8 feet high, on the crest of the Busuku, a low rocky range south-west of the Impulazi River (Bea. V.); thence to a low bare hill on the north-east of, and overlooking the Impulazi River, to the south of it being a tributary of the Impulazi, with a considerable waterfall, and the road from the river passing 200 yards to the north-west of the beacon (Bea. IV.); thence to the highest point of the Mapumula range, the watershed of the Little Usuto River on the north, and the Umpulazi River on the south, the hill, the top of which is a bare rock, falling abruptly towards the Little Usuto (Bea. III.); thence to the western point of a double-pointed rocky hill, precipitous on all sides, called Makwana, its top being a bare rock (Bea. II.); thence to the top of a rugged hill of considerable height falling abruptly to the Komati River, this hill being the northern extremity of the Isilotwani range, and separated from the highest peak of the range Inkomokazi (a sharp cone) by a deep neck

(Bea. I.). (On a ridge in the straight line between Beacons I. and II. is an intermediate beacon.) From Beacon I. the boundary runs to a hill across the Komati River, and thence along the crest of the range of hills known as the Makongwa, which runs north-east and south-west, to Kamhlabana Peak ; thence in a straight line to Mananga, a point in the Libombo range, and thence to the nearest point in the Portuguese frontier on the Libombo range ; thence along the summits of the Libombo range to the middle of the poort where the Komati River passes through it, called the lowest Komati Poort ; thence in a north by easterly direction to Pokioens Kop, situated on the north side of the Olifant's River, where it passes through the ridges ; thence about north north-west to the nearest point of Serra di Chicundo ; and thence to the junction of the Pafori River with the Limpopo or Crocodile River ; thence up the course of the Limpopo River to the point where the Marique River falls into it. Thence up the course of the Marique River to 'Derde Poort,' where it passes through a low range of hills, called Sikwane, a beacon (No. 10) being erected on the spur of said range near to, and westward of, the banks of the river ; thence, in a straight line, through this beacon to a beacon (No. 9), erected on the top of the same range, about 1,700 yards distant from beacon No. 10 ; thence, in a straight line, to a beacon (No. 8) erected on the highest point of an isolated hill, called Dikgagong, or 'Wildebeest Kop,' situated south-eastward of, and about $3\frac{1}{4}$ miles distant from a high hill, called Moripe ; thence, in a straight line, to a beacon (No. 7) erected on the summit of an isolated hill or 'koppie' forming the eastern extremity of the range of hills called Moshweu, situated to the northward of, and about two miles distant from, a large isolated hill called Chukudu-Chochwa ; thence, in a straight line, to a beacon (No. 6) erected on the summit of a hill forming part of the same range, Moshweu ; thence, in a straight line, to a beacon (No. 5) erected on the summit of a pointed hill in the same range ; thence, in a straight line, to a beacon (No. 4) erected on the summit of the western extremity of the same range ; thence, in a straight line, to a beacon (No. 3) erected on the summit of the northern extremity of a low, bushy hill, or 'Koppie,' near to and eastward of the Notwane River ; thence, in a straight line, to the junction of the stream called Metsi-Mashwane with the Notwane River (No. 2) ; thence up the course of the Notwane River to Sengoma, being the Poort where the river passes through the Dwarsberg range ; thence, as described in the Award given by Lieutenant-Governor Keate, dated October 17, 1871, by Pitlan-

ganyane (narrow place), Deboaganka or Schaapkuil, Sibatoul (bare place), and Maclase, to Ramatlabama, a pool on a spruit north of the Molopo River. From Ramatlabama the boundary shall run to the summit of an isolated hill, called Leganka ; thence in a straight line, passing north-east of a Native Station, near 'Buurman's Drift,' on the Molopo River, to that point on the road from Mosiega to the old drift, where a road turns out through the Native Station to the new drift below ; thence to 'Buurman's Old Drift' ; thence, in a straight line to a marked and isolated clump of trees near to and north-west of the dwelling-house of C. Austin, a tenant on the farm 'Vleifontein,' No. 117 ; thence, in a straight line, to the north-western corner beacon of the farm 'Mooimeisjesfontein,' No. 30 ; thence, along the western line of the said farm 'Mooimeisjesfontein,' and in prolongation thereof, as far as the road leading from 'Ludik's Drift,' on the Molopo River, past the homestead of 'Mooimeisjesfontein,' towards the Salt Pans near Harts River ; thence, along the said road, crossing the direct road from Polfontein to Sehuba, and until the direct road from Polfontein to Lotlakane or Pietfontein is reached ; thence, along the southern edge of the last-named road towards Lotlakane, until the first garden ground of that station is reached ; thence, in a south-westerly direction, skirting Lotlakane, so as to leave it and all its garden ground in native territory, until the road from Lotlakane to Kunana is reached ; thence along the east side, and clear of that road towards Kunana, until the garden grounds of that station are reached ; thence, skirting Kunana, so as to include it and all its garden ground, but no more, in the Transvaal, until the road from Kunana to Mamusa is reached ; thence, along the eastern side and clear of the road towards Mamusa, until a road turns out towards Taungs ; thence, along the eastern side and clear of the road towards Taungs, till the line of the district known as 'Stellaland' is reached, about 11 miles from Taungs ; thence, along the line of the district Stellaland, to the Harts River, about 24 miles below Mamusa ; thence, across Harts River, to the junction of the roads from Monthe and Phokwane ; thence, along the western side and clear of the nearest road towards 'Koppie Enkel,' an isolated hill about 36 miles from Mamusa, and about 18 miles north of Christiana, and to the summit of the said hill ; thence, in a straight line, to that point on the north-east boundary of Griqualand West as beacons by Mr. Surveyor Ford, where two farms, registered as Nos. 72 and 75, do meet, about midway between the Vaal and Harts Rivers, measured along the said boundary of Griqualand West ; thence to the first point

where the north-east boundary of Griqualand West meets the Vaal River.

Article 2. The Government of the South African Republic will strictly adhere to the boundaries defined in the first Article of this Convention, and will do its utmost to prevent any of its inhabitants from making any encroachments upon lands beyond the said boundaries. The Government of the South African Republic will appoint Commissioners upon the eastern and western borders whose duty it will be strictly to guard against irregularities and all trespassing over the boundaries. Her Majesty's Government will, if necessary, appoint Commissioners in the native territories outside the eastern and western borders of the South African Republic to maintain order and prevent encroachments.

Her Majesty's Government and the Government of the South African Republic will each appoint a person to proceed together to beacon off the amended south-west boundary as described in Article 1 of this Convention ; and the President of the Orange Free State shall be requested to appoint a referee to whom the said persons shall refer any questions on which they may disagree respecting the interpretation of the said Article, and the decision of such referee thereon shall be final. The arrangement already made, under the terms of Article 19 of the Convention of Pretoria of the 3rd August 1881, between the owners of the farms Grootfontein and Valleifontein on the one hand, and the Barolong authorities on the other, by which a fair share of the water supply of the said farms shall be allowed to flow undisturbed to the said Barolongs, shall continue in force.

Article 3. If a British officer is appointed to reside at Pretoria or elsewhere within the South African Republic to discharge functions analogous to those of a Consular officer he will receive the protection and assistance of the Republic.

Article 4. The South African Republic will conclude no treaty or engagement with any State or nation other than the Orange Free State, nor with any native tribe to the eastward or westward of the Republic, until the same has been approved by her Majesty the Queen.

Such approval shall be considered to have been granted if her Majesty's Government shall not, within six months after receiving a copy of such treaty (which shall be delivered to them immediately upon its completion), have notified that the conclusion of such treaty is in conflict with the interests of Great Britain or of any of her Majesty's possessions in South Africa.

Article 5. The South African Republic will be liable for any balance which may still remain due of the debts for which it was liable at the date of Annexation, to wit, the Cape Commercial Bank Loan, the Railway Loan, and the Orphan Chamber Debt, which debts will be a first charge upon the revenues of the Republic. The South African Republic will, moreover, be liable to her Majesty's Government for 250,000*l.*, which will be a second charge upon the revenues of the Republic.

Article 6. The debt due as aforesaid by the South African Republic to her Majesty's Government will bear interest at the rate of three and a half per cent. from the date of the ratification of this Convention, and shall be repayable by a payment for interest and Sinking Fund of six pounds and ninepence per 100*l.* per annum, which will extinguish the debt in twenty-five years. The said payment of six pounds and ninepence per 100*l.* shall be payable half-yearly, in British currency, at the close of each half year from the date of such ratification : Provided always that the South African Republic shall be at liberty at the close of any half year to pay off the whole or any portion of the outstanding debt.

Interest at the rate of three and a half per cent. on the debt as standing under the Convention of Pretoria shall as heretofore be paid to the date of the ratification of this Convention.

Article 7. All persons who held property in the Transvaal on the 8th day of August 1881, and still hold the same, will continue to enjoy the rights of property which they have enjoyed since the 12 April 1877. No person who has remained loyal to her Majesty during the late hostilities shall suffer any molestation by reason of his loyalty ; or be liable to any criminal prosecution or civil action for any part taken in connexion with such hostilities ; and all such persons will have full liberty to reside in the country, with enjoyment of all civil rights, and protection for their persons and property.

Article 8. The South African Republic renews the declaration made in the Sand River Convention, and in the Convention of Pretoria, that no slavery or apprenticeship partaking of slavery will be tolerated by the Government of the said Republic.

Article 9. There will continue to be complete freedom of religion and protection from molestation for all denominations, provided the same be not inconsistent with morality and good order ; and no disability shall attach to any person in regard to rights of property by reason of the religious opinions which he holds.

Article 10. The British Officer appointed to reside in the South

African Republic will receive every assistance from the Government of the said Republic in making due provision for the proper care and preservation of the graves of such of her Majesty's Forces as have died in the Transvaal ; and if need be, for the appropriation of land for the purpose.

Article 11. All grants or titles issued at any time by the Transvaal Government in respect of land outside the boundary of the South African Republic, as defined in Article 1, shall be considered invalid and of no effect, except in so far as any such grant or title relates to land that falls within the boundary of the South African Republic ; and all persons holding any such grant so considered invalid and of no effect will receive from the Government of the South African Republic such compensation, either in land or in money, as the Volksraad shall determine. In all cases in which any Native Chiefs or other authorities outside the said boundaries have received any adequate consideration from the Government of the South African Republic for land excluded from the Transvaal by the first Article of this Convention, or where permanent improvements have been made on the land, the High Commissioner will recover from the native authorities fair compensation for the loss of the land thus excluded, or of the permanent improvements thereon.

Article 12. The independence of the Swazis, within the boundary line of Swaziland, as indicated in the first Article of this Convention, will be fully recognised.

Article 13. Except in pursuance of any treaty or engagement made as provided in Article 4 of this Convention, no other or higher duties shall be imposed on the importation into the South African Republic of any article coming from any part of her Majesty's dominions than are or may be imposed on the like article coming from any other place or country ; nor will any prohibition be maintained or imposed on the importation into the South African Republic of any article coming from any part of her Majesty's dominions which shall not equally extend to the like article coming from any other place or country. And in like manner the same treatment shall be given to any article coming to Great Britain from the South African Republic as to the like article coming from any other place or country.

These provisions do not preclude the consideration of special arrangements as to import duties and commercial relations between the South African Republic and any of her Majesty's colonies or possessions.

Article 14. All persons, other than natives, conforming them-

selves to the laws of the South African Republic (a) will have full liberty, with their families, to enter, travel, or reside in any part of the South African Republic ; (b) they will be entitled to hire or possess houses, manufactories, warehouses, shops, and premises ; (c) they may carry on their commerce either in person or by any agents whom they may think fit to employ ; (d) they will not be subject, in respect of their persons or property, or in respect of their commerce or industry, to any taxes, whether general or local, other than those which are or may be imposed upon citizens of the said Republic.

Article 15. All persons, other than natives, who established their domicile in the Transvaal between the 12th day of April 1877, and the 8th August 1881, and who within twelve months after such last-mentioned date have had their names registered by the British Resident, shall be exempt from all compulsory military service whatever.

Article 16. Provision shall hereafter be made by a separate instrument for the mutual extradition of criminals, and also for the surrender of deserters from her Majesty's Forces.

Article 17. All debts contracted between the 12th April 1877 and the 8th August 1881 will be payable in the same currency in which they may have been contracted.

Article 18. No grants of land which may have been made, and no transfers or mortgages which may have been passed between the 12th April 1877 and the 8th August 1881, will be invalidated by reason merely of their having been made or passed between such dates.

All transfers to the British Secretary for Native Affairs in trust for Natives will remain in force, an officer of the South African Republic taking the place of such Secretary for Native Affairs.

Article 19. The Government of the South African Republic will engage faithfully to fulfil the assurances given, in accordance with the laws of the South African Republic, to the natives at the Pretoria Pitso by the Royal Commission in the presence of the Triumvirate and with their entire assent, (1) as to the freedom of the natives to buy or otherwise acquire land under certain conditions, (2) as to the appointment of a commission to mark out native locations, (3) as to the access of the natives to the courts of law, and (4) as to their being allowed to move freely within the country, or to leave it for any legal purpose, under a pass system.

Article 20. This Convention will be ratified by a Volksraad of the South African Republic within the period of six months after

its execution, and in default of such ratification this Convention shall be null and void.

Signed in duplicate in London this 27th day of February 1884.

(Signed) HERCULES ROBINSON.
S. J. P. KRUGER.
S. J. DU TOIT.
N. J. SMIT.

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